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ABSTRACT

A collection of readings and activities on the Holocaust for secondary students is coordinated with a teacher's curriculum guide. Material is divided into units covering the nature of human behavior, views of prejudice and genocide, the rise of Nazi Germany, Nazi persecution and mass murder, resistance to the Nazis, and related issues of conscience and moral responsibility. Each unit contains 10 or more reading selections which include songs, personal accounts, essays, short stories, and examples of propaganda. Each reading is accompanied by a series of discussion questions or supplementary activities and relevant vocabulary. Artwork of the period is also included. (LP)

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Holocaust and Genocide: A Search For Conscience

A Student Anthology

Harry Furman, Editor-in-Chief

Richard F. Flaim, Edwin W. Reynolds, Jr.,
John Chupak and Kenneth Tubertini,
Associate Editors

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To Morris Furman,
a survivor
1912-1977

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Harry Furman
August, 1983

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"I hope that Holocaust education will help our children to find their own conscience . . . I hope that it will help prevent future outrages against the innocent. I hope that our new council and our new curriculum will help us reach those ends, and put an end to bigotry, cruelty and indifference. I believe they will."
We share Governor Kean's hopes and optimism and are deeply honored by his willingness to write the preface to the Curriculum Guide and the Anthology for Students.

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Preface

The Holocaust was one of the most shameful episodes in human history. It engulfed not only Jews, but all those unfortunate enough to live under the cloud of Nazi domination. The Jews of Europe, however, were singled out for persecution for one reason: their identity as a people. This, then is genocide, the systematic attempt to wipe out an entire people.

The shame of the Holocaust is not unprecedented. There have been mass murders of ethnic groups throughout history. There have been pogroms. There have been massacres in this century, such as the wholesale destruction of the Armenians by the Turks, and there continues today the killing of innocent millions. Never before the Holocaust, however, had the best resources of a state been legally dedicated to mass murder.

Nazi Germany made the destruction of the Jewish people a cornerstone of state policy and power. It built up an elaborate system of death, using its top scientists and its most modern technology to destroy human beings. More than these, however, the Nazi state enrolled its entire civilian population in a conspiracy of silence about the elimination of other civilians, and depended on their cooperation. This is the point of this anthology's subtitle: *A Search for Conscience.*

Perhaps the most important lesson of the Holocaust is that each individual is responsible not only for his or her own actions, but for the consequences which these actions hold for others. The Holocaust was engineered by citizens who were just doing their jobs—doing them so well that millions of people died. Few of those citizens ever admitted to their individual responsibility for what happened. The Holocaust was only possible because an entire people was condemned by the mere fact of their membership in a group; the victims of the Holocaust were denied their individual identities as precious human beings.

The story of Nazi Germany and its persecution of the Jews and of others whom it would not tolerate is a story of the abdication of individual responsibility and the denial of individual human worth. *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience* is designed to help each reader explore the fundamental problem of the individual's relation to the modern state and his or her role in a society of other individuals. This is especially important in a society like our own, which is founded on the rights of the individual and is made up of many different groups.

America is a pluralistic, democratic society. Many ethnic groups, many religious groups, many different individuals, coexist in our country and depend on each other. Without the legal guarantees of individual freedom, upheld by the dictates of each citizen's conscience, peaceful coexistence and toleration might disappear together with the liberty which we so cherish. This is the lesson of *The Holocaust and Genocide: A Search for Conscience:* that we must accord to every other group or person the same tolerance, recognition and freedom which we seek for ourselves. As Governor of New Jersey, the second most diverse state in the Union, I hope that all New Jerseyans, young and old, will take this lesson to heart.

I have been asked why I feel it important for our children today to study the Holocaust. Why this and not other genocides? Why not forget this painful chapter of history? Why dwell on the evil which man is capable of wreaking on man? My answers to these questions are that it is crucial to remember the events of the Holocaust because it was a uniquely terrible and logical outcome of the creed that one group or person may use force against another with no regard for what is right. It is crucial for this generation and the next to extend its lessons to any incident where the strong exert their wills over the vulnerable. It is crucial not only to recognize that the potential for violence resides in every human being, but also to learn how to prevent violence of any kind against one's fellow humans. We can only do so by remembering the painful lessons of the past and applying them to the future.

Thomas H. Kean
Governor
State of New Jersey

Introduction

Dear Teacher:

> *I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness:*
> *Gas chambers built by LEARNED engineers*
> *Children poisoned by EDUCATED physicians*
> *Infants killed by TRAINED nurses*
> *Women and babies shot and burned by HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE graduates.*
> *So I am suspicious of education.*
> *My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns.*
> *Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.*
>
> *Haim Ginott*—Teacher and Child

Today, anyone interested in understanding why people behave as they do cannot avoid confronting the brutal reality of the Holocaust and genocide. It is an admirable but perilous task, for the Holocaust, the murder of six million Jews between 1933 and 1945, remains a spiritual mystery. This letter demands that we ask why people made these choices. How could rational, intelligent people in the twentieth century commit these horrible acts?

The metaphor of the Holocaust has grown ever-more fascinating in recent years: e.g. television productions like "Holocaust," and "Blood and Honor" and the Broadway plays "Bent" and "Good." Books, films, and even rock music lyrics apply Holocaust and genocide imagery. Indeed, the vision of the death camp Auschwitz has become *the* symbol of the twentieth century.

But public understanding of the Holocaust and genocide remains superficial at best, and the use of the words "Holocaust" and "genocide" to describe almost any behavior indicates not only failure to use language correctly, but also prevents critical thinking. "Genocide" has become a catch-all phrase, used to describe everything from what happened in Vietnam, to abortion policy, to recent events in Lebanon. Once we misuse language by over-categorizing, the real meaning and the passion involved in the Holocaust becomes blurred and perhaps even trivialized. Some of the present interest in the Holocaust stems from a preoccupation with violence. Twisted bodies have become the subject of lurid fascination and Nazi swastikas and S.S. insignia are treasured by memorabilia collectors. John Hinckley, the would-be assassin of Ronald Reagan, and one-time member of the American Nazi Party, composed college papers about Hitler's *Mein Kampf* and Auschwitz.

The Holocaust was a part of my childhood and it was and is an integral part of my life as a teacher and a human being. I grew up in the 1950's and 1960's, when the Holocaust was never discussed in public education, when even children of survivors rarely spoke to each other about the past events that bound them. But even in the midst of this attempt to hide history, many of us never lost the need to understand what happened to our parents and to the world during the Nazi era.

The expanded interest in critical history in the 1960's (in the shadow of the civil rights movement and Vietnam) eased the way for a renewed development of Holocaust study in the 1970's, and allowed teachers to begin raising Holocaust and genocide issues in their classrooms.

Young people now are very curious about the Holocaust and genocide and they want answers as to why such events can occur. Yet, many students have lost faith in the future. And their inability to use language and to ask questions stems, in part, from their loss of belief in progress and in people. If the study of the Holocaust and genocide merely reinforces this basic pessimism, then we will have accomplished nothing.

Thus, the Holocaust should not be used as further evidence that human beings are, by nature, depraved. Nor should we confuse genocide with other expressions of hatred. A basic assumption of this anthology is that the Holocaust is unique in history, but that its underlying lessons can help us to understand other human events. We must stop thinking of the Holocaust as a "Jewish issue," but we must also recognize that the Holocaust cannot be understood without investigating the historical nature of anti-Semitism. We need to explore the relationship between Jewish and Christian history.

In studying the rise of groups like the Nazis, this anthology is intended to go beyond the over-simplified thinking of certain people, who stress the influence of economics or "insanity." We contend that the Holocaust and genocide cannot be studied without examining the complex values that lead to such behavior. We need to look at values to try to understand and determine why individuals act the way they do.

The Holocaust is the most striking example in history of human beings compelled to make the most difficult ethical choices. We need to reexamine common assumptions about how people will respond to choices under stress. For example, many students assume that once people were placed in concentration camps, they treated each other like savage animals, each caring only for him- or herself. We hope this anthology will challenge this kind of superficial thinking and help develop a more compassionate understanding of what it means to make choices in a "no-win" situation.

We believe the Holocaust raises the deepest of questions about human nature, human values, and the ultimate use of science and technology; about people as oppressors, victims and spectators; and about our capacity for compassion even when being pressed into the slime of inhumanity. There is a positive message in the Holocaust that must not be overlooked.

In exploring these themes, it is impossible to avoid controversy. We will raise many troubling questions related both directly and indirectly to the Holocaust and genocide.

Although this anthology cannot possibly deal with every critical Holocaust issue, we have not shrunk from asking such painful questions as:

1. How do we reconcile the belief in God with the Holocaust?
2. Why did the nations of the world and our major institutions respond so passively to the Holocaust?
3. What keeps a people from descending into the practice of genocide?
4. Why is it so difficult to act out of conscience?

We should not be fearful of these questions since much can be learned about ourselves by struggling with our own confusion and coming to terms with the irreconcilable.

This must be the rationale for the study of the Holocaust! This is our justification for exploring this sacred event—this moment forever suspended in time—when mankind entered upon a plane of murder that can never be exorcised from memory. The study of the Holocaust will, one hopes, help us to evaluate more carefully those values which form the foundation of our decisions.

The Holocaust and genocide deserve far more than a superficial analysis. The Holocaust cannot be effectively examined simply by screening the film, *Night and Fog*. Studying the Holocaust requires that we go beyond the cliché of "man's inhumanity to man." It was Viktor Frankl, the Auschwitz survivor, who wrote that "a lively and vivid conscience" was the only thing that enabled us to resist conformism and totalitarianism. This anthology is an invitation to explore our own conscience.

This book is intended to raise the ethical consciousness of its readers. It includes poetry, art, music, and essays. Each reading is preceded by an introduction and followed by probing questions—questions designed to raise major issues and to suggest the broader themes related to that reading. The "dilemmas," told in story form but based on reality, pose hypothetical questions. They should serve to further thinking and spark the kind of debate critical to Holocaust study.

Young people need to be reminded that "becoming more human" is the most important "skill" they can ever learn. In the last few years we have witnessed an increase in anti-Semitic incidents and Ku Klux Klan membership and we have even seen an effort by some to deny that the Holocaust ever happened. Young people need the ethical will to resist these influences. We believe the Holocaust has forever changed the course of history. Whether we learn something from it that will improve Mankind's lot remains open to question. But at least one thing we can do is *ask* the questions. Within the present atmosphere of spiritual despair, this is itself a sign of needed faith in ourselves.

Harry Furman
Vineland, New Jersey

The Nature of Human Behavior

Any study of Holocaust and genocide must begin with an overall consideration of human behavior and its origins. The first unit focuses on the potential for good and evil in human nature. Using the tools of literature, sociology experiments, and even songs, various authors raise serious questions about our capacity for indifference, obedience, and ultimately murder. The reader is introduced to the reality of making difficult choices under stress, a theme running throughout our study of the Holocaust.

My Name is Adolf Eichmann

Lenny Bruce

In this selection by satirist Lenny Bruce, which he adapted from a poem by Catholic theologian Thomas Merton, Adolf Eichmann defends his role in the Holocaust. Eichmann was a "Jewish expert" in the Nazi SS who was responsible for the administration of the murder of the Jews of Europe. His argument raises disturbing questions about the nature of human evil and our own possible participation in such events.

My name is Adolf Eichmann
The Jews came every day
to vat they thought vould be
fun in the showers.
The mothers were quite ingenious
They vould take the children
and hide them in bundles of clothing.
Ve found the children, scrubbed them,
put them in chambers, and sealed them in.
I vatched through the portholes
as they vould daven and chant
"Hey, mein Liebe, Heyyyy."
Ve took off their clean Jewish love-rings,
removed their teeth and hair-
for strategic defense.
I made soap out of them,
I made soap out of all of them;
and they hung me,
in full view of the prison yard.
People say,
"Adolf Eichmann should have been hung"
Nein.
Nein, if you recognize the whoredom
in all of you,
that you vould have done the same,
if you dared know yourselves.
My defense?
I vas a soldier.
People laugh
"Ha ha! This is no defense
that you are a soldier."
This is trite.
I vas a soldier,
a good soldier.
I saw the end of a conscientious day's efforts.
I saw all the work that I did.
I, Adolf Eichmann,
vatched through the portholes.
I saw every Jew burned
und turned into soap.
Do you think yourselves better
because you burned your enemies
at long distances with missiles?
Without ever seeing what you'd done to them?
Hiroshima . . . Auf Wiedersehen . . .

Questions for Discussion

1. What is Adolf Eichmann's defense for his actions?
2. Does Eichmann's description of himself as a soldier make any difference to you? Explain.
3. How do you react to Eichmann's comparison of his actions with the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima by the United States in World War II?
4. Is a man like Eichmann "evil"? Do you believe that there are certain human acts that are absolutely "good" or "evil" under any circumstances? What, then, is your definition of "good" and "evil"?

Definitions

Holocaust—from the Hebrew word "olah" which means "burnt offering." The term is used to describe the murder of six million Jews by the Nazis.
liebe—German word meaning love.
daven—Yiddish word meaning to chant or pray.
auf wiedersehn—German word meaning goodbye.
SS—Nazi elite corps that was involved in the mass murder process.

Shiddah and Kuziba

Isaac Bashevis Singer

Any discussion of the Holocaust must begin with our thinking about human nature. In this short story by Isaac Bashevis Singer, the well-known Yiddish writer deals with the human world through the eyes of two devils living beneath the surface of the earth. It is humorous to see what devils would say about humans. Yet, Singer's short story opens our debate about the nature of real people.

Shiddah and her child, Kuziba, a schoolboy, were sitting nine yards inside the earth at a place where two ledges of rock came together and an underground stream was flowing. Shiddah's body was made of cobwebs; her hair reached to her anklebones; her feet were like those of a chicken; and she had the wings of a bat. Kuziba, who looked like his mother, had, in addition, donkey ears and wax horns. Kuziba was sick with a high fever. Every half hour his mother gave him medicine made of Devil's dung mixed with copper juice, the darkness of a ditch, and the droppings of a red crow. Shiddah, leaning over her son, licked his navel with her long tongue. Kuziba was sleeping the restless sleep of the sick. Suddenly the boy woke up.

"I'm frightened, mother," he said.

"Of what, dear?"

"Of light. Of human beings."

Shiddah trembled; and then spat on her son to ward off such evils.

"What are you talking about, child? We're safe here—far from light and far from human beings. It's as dark as Egypt here, thank God, and as silent as a cemetery. We're protected by nine yards of solid rock."

"But they say men can break rocks," said the boy.

"Old wives' tales!" countered his mother. "The power of man is only on the surface. The heights are for angels. The depths are for us. The lot of man is to creep on the skin of the earth like a louse."

"But what *are* human beings, mother? Tell me."

"What are they? They're the waste of creation, offal; where sin is brewed in a kettle, mankind is the foam. Man is the mistake of God."

"How can God the Almighty make a mistake?" asked Kuziba.

"That is a secret, my child," answered Shiddah. "For when God created the last of all the worlds, the earth, his love for our mistress, Lilith, was stronger than ever. Only for an instant his gaze wandered, and in that instant he produced man—an evil mixture of flesh, love, dung, and lust.

"Man!" Shiddah spat. "He has a white skin but inside he is red. He shouts as if he were strong, but really he is weak and shaky. Throw a stone and he breaks; use a thong and he bleeds. In heat he melts. In cold he freezes. There is a bellows in his chest which has to contract and expand constantly. In his left side is a small sac which must throb and quiver all the time. He stuffs himself with mildew of a kind which grows in mud or sand. This mildew he has to swallow constantly and after it passes through his body he must drop it out. He depends on a thousand accidents, and that's why he is so nasty and angry."

"But what do human beings do, mother?"

"Evil," Shiddah answered her son, "only evil. But that keeps them busy so that they leave us in peace. Why, some of them even deny our existence. They think life can only breed on the surface of the earth. Like all fools they consider themselves clever.

"Imagine! They study wisdom on crushed wood pulp smeared with blotches of ink. And their ideas come from a slimy matter which they carry in a bony skull on their necks. They can't even run the way animals can: their legs are too feeble. But one thing they do possess in great measure: insolence. If God the Omnipotent did not have so much patience he would have destroyed such rabble long ago."

Kuziba, who had listened intently to his mother's words, was not reassured. He stared at his mother feverishly.

"I'm afraid of them, mother. I'm afraid."

"Don't be, Kuziba. They can't come here."

"In my sleep I dream about them." Kuziba trembled.

"Don't shake so, my darling little devil." Shiddah caressed her son. "Dreams are silly. They too come from the surface where chaos rules."

II

Kuziba, who had lain for some time in a deep sleep, suddenly cried out. His mother awakened him.

"What's the matter, my son?"

"I'm frightened."

"Again?"

"I was dreaming about a man."

"What did he look like, my child?"

"So fierce. He made a noise that almost made me go deaf. And he had a light that was blinding me. I would have died from fear if you hadn't waked me."

"Be still, my son. I will chant a spell for you." And Shiddah murmured:

Lord of the Depths
Curse the evil surface.
Lord of all Silence
Destroy the Din

Save us great Father
From Light, from Words.
From Man his Deceit.
Save us, Lord God.

For a while it was quiet. Kuziba dozed off. Shiddah cradled her only son, swaying rhythmically above him. She thought of her husband, Hurmiz, who did not live at home. He went to the Yeshivah of Chittim and Tachtim which was thousands of yards deeper, nearer the center of the earth. There he studied the secret of silence. Because silence has many degrees. As Shiddah knew, no matter how quiet it is, it can be even quieter. Silence is like fruits which have pits within pits, seeds within seeds. There is a final silence, a last point so small that it is nothing, yet so mighty that worlds can be created from it. This last point is the essence of all essences. Everything else is external, nothing but skin, peel, surface. He who has reached the final point, the last degree of silence, knows nothing of time and space, of death and lust. There male and female are forever united; will and deed are the same. This last silence is God. But God Himself keeps on penetrating deeper into Himself. He descends into His depths. His nature is like a cave without bottom. He keeps on investigating His own abyss.

Kuziba had fallen asleep. Shiddah, too, rested her head against a stone pillow. She imagined dreamily how Kuziba would grow up and become a big devil; how he would marry and become a father, and how she, Shiddah, would serve her daughter-in-law and her grandchildren. The babies would begin to call her grandma; and she would delouse their heads. She would braid the girls' hair, clean the boys' noses, take them to *Cheder*, feed them, put them to sleep. Then the grandchildren themselves would grow up and be led under black canopies to marry the sons and daughters of the most reputable and well-established demons.

Her husband, Hurmiz, would become a rabbi of the netherworld, giving out amulets, reciting incantations. He would teach imps the chapter of curses on Mount Ebal, and the curses which Balaam should have used on the Israelites; he would teach them the prophecies of the false prophets, the words of temptation which the primeval snake used in the Garden of Eden; he would teach them the cunning of the fallen angels, the confusion of tongues of those who built the Tower of Babel; he would instruct them in the perversities of men at the time of the Flood, in the vanities of Jeroboam and Ahab, Jezebel and Vashti. Then Hurmiz would become King of the Demons. He would be offered the throne in the Abyss of the Great Female, a thousand miles away from the surface where no one had ever heard of man and his insanity.

Suddenly Shiddah's daydreaming was interrupted. There was a terrible thundering. Shiddah leapt to her feet. A racketing clamor filled the cave as if a thousand hammers were beating. Everything shook. Kuziba woke up with a scream.

"Mother, mother," yelled the boy. "Run, run."

"Help, demons! Help!" Shiddah shouted.

She caught up Kuziba in her arms and tried to flee. But where to? From all sides came a rumbling and cracking. Rocks were crashing down; stones were flying out. The narrow hole which led further underground to the homes of the richer demons was already clogged. A rain of dust, sparks, stone splinters struck the mother and son. Then a light, awful, glaring, a thing with no name in the netherworld, blinded them with its approach. Presently, a monstrous, spiraling machine plunged through the ledge of rock in front of them. Shiddah fell back to the opposite wall, but at that moment it too shattered into a thousand pieces. A second light appeared and another gigantic screw, twisting round and round, pushing with a strange and overwhelming power, ready to crush and grind everything with a cruelty beyond good and evil, broke into their home.

Kuziba, with a terrible sigh, fainted. He hung in Shiddah's arms as if he were dead. Shiddah saw a crevice among some stones and crawled in. She huddled there stiff with fear. What she saw was more horrible than all the horror stories she had ever heard from all the old grandmothers and great-grandmothers. The drills turned a last time and then were silent. The stones stopped falling and in the smoke and dust men appeared—tall, two-legged, dirty, stinking, with white teeth in faces black with tar, and with eyes from which glared iniquity, malice, and pride. They spoke an ugly gibberish; laughed with abandonment; danced; stretched out their paws to one another. Then they began to drink a poisonous beverage, the sheer smell of which made Shiddah faint. She wanted to rouse Kuziba, but she was afraid. The came to, he would begin screaming, or even might die at the sight of such monsters. The only thing Shiddah could do now was pray. She prayed to Satan, to Asmodeus, to Lilith, and to all the other powers which maintain creation. Help us, she called from the cranny in which she was hiding, help us, not because of my merit but because of the merit of my scholarly husband, because of my innocent child and my worthy ancestors. Long, long, Shiddah knelt in the crack in the stones and prayed and wept. When she again opened her eyes, the ugly images had gone and the noise had subsided. What remained was garbage, a stench, and a ball of light which hung above her head like fire from Gehenna. Only now did she wake up her son.

"Kuziba, Kuziba. Wake up!" Shiddah called to her son. "We are in great danger!"

Kuziba opened his eyes.

"What is this? Oh mother. Light!"

The boy trembled and screamed. For a long while Shiddah comforted him, kissing him and caressing him. But they could not stay there any more. They had to find refuge. But where? The road down to Hurmiz was cut off. Shiddah was now a grass widow, Kuziba a fatherless child. There was only one way to go. Shiddah had heard the saying that if you cannot go down you have to go up. Mother and son began to climb to the surface. Up there, there would also be caves, marshes, graves, dark rocky crevices; there too, she had heard, there were dense forests and empty deserts. Man had not covered the whole surface with his greed. There, too, lived demons, imps, shades, hobgoblins. True, they were refugees, exiles from the netherworld. But still, exile is better than slavery.

For Shiddah knew that the last victory would be to darkness. Until then, demons who were forsaken or driven out would have to suffer patience. But a time would come when the light of the Universe would be extinguished. All the stars would be snuffed out; all voices, silenced; all surfaces, cut off. God and Satan would be one. The remembrance of man and his abominations would be nothing but a bad dream which God had spun out for a while to distract Himself in His eternal night.

Translated by Elizabeth Pollet

Questions for Discussion

1. According to Shiddah and Kuziba, what are humans really like?
2. What will someday happen to the human world? Are these conclusions optimistic or pessimistic? Do you agree with these views? Explain.
3. Isaac Bashevis Singer may be critical of mankind's past history, but he understands that mankind's only hope lies in its power to communicate. We should never lose that faith in words. When that faith is lost, mankind will cease to be. Comment.

Definitions

1. offal—waste
2. omnipotent—all-powerful
3. cheder—one-room religious school for Jewish youngsters
4. yeshivah—Jewish seminary for boys of high school and college level

Sympathy for the Devil

Mick Jagger

This is probably the most famous of all the songs by the Rolling Stones. As Mick Jagger stated in the movie, "Gimme Shelter," about the Altamont Speedway concert, "Something terrible always seems to happen when we sing this song." In fact, a murder occurred just before the song was performed.

Please allow me to introduce myself
I'm a man of wealth and taste
I've been around for long, long years
Stole many a man's soul and faith
I was around when Jesus Christ has his moment of
    doubt and pain
I made sure that Pilate
Washed his hands and sealed his fate

Pleased to meet you
Hope you guess my name
But what's puzzling you
Is the nature of my game

I stuck around St. Petersburg
When I thought it was time for a change
I killed the Tsar and his ministers
Anastasia screamed in vain
I rode a tank held a general's rank
When the blitzkrieg raged
And the bodies stank

Pleased to meet you. . . .

I watched with glee while your kings and queens
Fought for ten decades
For the Gods they made
I shouted out who killed the Kennedys?
WHEN AFTER ALL IT WAS YOU AND ME
Let me please introduce myself
I'm a man of wealth and taste
And I lay traps for troubadors
Who get killed before they reach Bombay

Pleased to meet you . . .

Just as every cop is a criminal
And all the sinners saints
As heads is tails
Just call me Lucifer
Cause I'm in need of some restraint
So if you meet me
Have some courtesy
Have some sympathy and some taste
Use all your well learned politics
Or I'll lay your soul to waste

Please to meet you
Hope you guess my name
But what's puzzling you
Is the nature of my game

Questions for Discussion

1. What does Jagger mean when he sings:

    I shouted out who killed the Kennedys?
    When after all it was you and me.

2. At one point, the singer implies that all good is mixed with evil and vice versa. Would you agree that "Every cop is a criminal and all the sinners saints?" Does this view of good and evil make it more difficult for us to judge human actions?
3. There is a traditional idea that human nature is basically evil and that this evil is deep inside us. This view leads some to the conclusion that groups like the Nazis could not control the evil inside them and thus were tempted by the devil to do evil acts. How do you feel about this idea of human nature and this interpretation of the Nazis?

The Dying Girl That No One Helped

Loudon Wainwright

In the 1960s, folksinger Phil Ochs wrote a song called "Outside of a Small Circle of Friends" with these lyrics:

> "O look outside the window
> There's a woman being grabbed
> They've dragged her to the bushes
> And now she's being stabbed
> Maybe we should call the cops and try to stop the pain
> But Monopoly is so much fun
> I'd hate to blow the game
> And I'm sure it wouldn't interest anybody
> Outside of a small circle of friends"

The lyrics were a reminder of the murder of Kitty Genovese in 1964, an incident that began a national debate about the responsibility of the average citizen to come to the aid of people in danger. A young woman was brutally murdered in a New York residential area while at least 38 people watched. Ever since, professional students of human behavior and amateurs alike have attempted to explain why no one was willing to become involved. In this selection, Loudon Wainwright briefly records the feelings of some of those who saw Kitty Genovese killed.

To judge from the bitter example given us by the good folks of a respectable New York residential area, Samaritans are very scarce these days. . . . if the reactions of the 38 witnesses to the murder of Catherine Genovese provide any true reflection of a national attitude toward our neighbors, we are becoming a callous, chickenhearted and immoral people. . . . An examination of the pitiful facts of Miss Genovese's terminal experience makes very necessary the ugly personal question each of us must ask: What would *I* have done?

The story is simple and brutal. As she arrived home in the early morning darkness, Kitty Genovese, a decent, pretty young woman of 28, was stalked through the streets close to her Kew Gardens apartment and stabbed again and again by a man who had followed her home and who took almost a half hour to kill her. During that bloody little eternity, . . . Kitty screamed and cried repeatedly for help. . . . "Oh, my God!" she cried out at one point. "He stabbed me! Please help me! Someone help me!" Minutes later, before the murderer came back and attacked her for the final time, she screamed, "I'm dying! I'm dying!"

The reason the murderer's actions and his victim's calls are so well documented is that police were able to find 38 of Kitty's neighbors who admitted they witnessed the awful event. They heard the screams and most understood her cry for help. Peeking out their windows, many saw enough of the killer to provide a good description of his appearance and clothing. A few saw him strike Kitty, and more saw her staggering down the sidewalk after she had been stabbed twice and was looking for a place to hide. One especially sharp-eyed person was able to report that the murderer was sucking his finger as he left the scene; he had cut himself during the attack. Another witness has the awful distinction of being the only person Kitty Genovese recognized in the audience taking in her final moments. She looked at him and called to him by name. He did not reply.

No one really helped Kitty at all. Only one person shouted at the killer ("Let that girl alone!"), and the one phone call that was finally made to the police was placed after the murderer had got in his car and driven off. For the most part the witnesses, crouching in darkened windows like watchers of a Late Show, looked on until the play had passed beyond their view. Then they went back to bed. . . .

On the scene a few days after the killer had been caught and confessed, Police Lieutenant Bernard Jacobs discussed the investigation. "The word we kept hearing from the witnesses later was 'involved,' " Jacobs said. . . . "People told us they just didn't want to get involved," Jacobs said to me. "They don't want to be questioned or have to go to court." He pointed to an apartment house directly across the quiet street. "They looked down at this thing," he went on, "from four different floors of that building." . . . . "It's a nice neighborhood, isn't it?" he went on. "Doesn't look like a jungle. Good, solid people. We don't expect anybody to come out into the street and fight this kind of bum. All we want is a phone call. We don't even need to know who's making it.

"You know what this man told us after we caught him?" Jacobs asked. "He said he figured nobody would do anything to help. He heard the windows go up and saw the lights go on. He just retreated for a while and when things quieted down, he came back to finish the job."

Later, in one of the apartment houses, a witness to part of Kitty Genovese's murder talked. His comments . . . indicate the price in bad conscience he and his neighbors are now paying. "I feel terrible about it," he said. "The thing keeps coming back in my mind. You just don't want to get involved. They might have picked me up as a suspect if I'd bounced right out there. I was getting ready, but my wife stopped me. She didn't want to be a hero's widow. I woke up about the third scream. I pulled the blind so hard it came off the window. The girl was on her knees struggling to get up. I didn't know if she was drunk or what. I never saw the man. She staggered a little when she walked, like she had a few drinks in her. I forgot the screen was there and I almost put my head through it trying to get a better look. I could see people with their heads out and hear windows going up and down all along the street."

. . . . "Every time I look out here now," he said, "it's like looking out at a nightmare. How could so many of us have had the same idea that we didn't need to do anything? But that's not all that's wrong." Now he sounded betrayed and he told what was really eating him. Those 38 witnesses had, at least, talked to the police after the murder. The man pointed to a nearby building. "There are people over there who saw everything," he said. "And there hasn't been a peep out of them yet. Not one peep."

Questions for Discussion

1. What were some of the reasons given by the spectators for not becoming involved? Do you blame the spectators for what they did not do?
2. Does this incident tell us anything about human nature?
3. Do you feel that there should be laws requiring citizens to come to another person's aid?
4. Does thinking that everybody would act as did these thirty-eight people make it easier for the rest of us to be indifferent to pain and danger experienced by others? Why?

Definition

Samaritan—someone who comes to the aid of a person in need

Human Nature: Opinion Survey

What do you think the nature of human beings is? Are we born good or evil—or with a "blank page"? Based on your reading and on your own thinking, complete the survey below.

Respond to each of the following statements with:

(AS) Agree Strongly
(A) Agree
(D) Disagree
(DS) Disagree Strongly

_____ 1. Life is a constant struggle. Those not powerful enough to rise to the top deserve whatever they get.

_____ 2. Most people are more likely to do evil rather than good.

_____ 3. Most people are weak and lazy.

_____ 4. Most people cannot handle freedom.

_____ 5. Most people would prefer miracles rather than depend on the fruits of their own hard labor.

_____ 6. Most people need something to worship.

_____ 7. We should not hold high expectations about the capacity of people for compassion and kindness to each other.

_____ 8. Most people would prefer not to make difficult decisions involving good and evil and the way in which society operates.

_____ 9. Most people are likely to conform rather than to maintain their individuality.
_____10. Most people cannot be trusted.
_____11. Most people are indifferent and uninvolved about issues that involve social responsibility.
_____12. Most people would want to avoid truth because it can cause pain.
_____13. Since conscience can cause personal suffering, most people do not act from conscience.
_____14. War is the natural outgrowth of human nature.
_____15. Most people need an authority to tell them what to do.

Given your responses, summarize your own feelings about human nature and behavior.

The Milgram “Shock“ Experiment

Stanley Milgram

The Holocaust forces us to ask how people could obey orders that ended in the murder of millions of people. The issue of mass obedience has produced heated debate. Stanley Milgram's controversial laboratory research described below was designed to compare German and American levels of obedience. Milgram found a human capacity to obey destructive orders that had little to do with any instinct for aggression. He used Hannah Arendt's phrase, "the banality of evil," to describe the results of the experiment. In the experiment, ordinary persons imparted electric shocks to the victims not from any aggressive tendencies but out of a sense of obligation. Thus, ordinary people, by simply doing their jobs, chose to participate in a destructive process.

The Nazi [murder] of European Jews is the most extreme instance of . . . immoral acts carried out by thousands of people in the name of obedience. Yet in lesser degree this type of thing is constantly recurring: ordinary citizens are ordered to destroy other people, and they do so because they consider it their duty to obey orders. . . . In order to take a close look at the act of obeying, I set up a simple experiment at Yale University. Eventually, the experiment was to involve more than a thousand participants and would be repeated at several universities, . . . Two people come to a psychology laboratory to take part in a study of memory and learning. One of them is designated as a "teacher" and the other a "learner." The experimenter explains that the study is concerned with the effects of punishment on learning. The learner is conducted into a room, seated in a chair, his arms strapped to prevent excessive movement, and an electrode attached to his wrist. He is told that he is to learn a list of word pairs; whenever he makes an error, he will receive electric shocks of increasing intensity.

The real focus of the experiment is the teacher. After watching the learner being strapped into place, he is taken into the main experimental room and seated before an impressive shock generator. Its main feature is a horizontal line of thirty switches, ranging from 15 volts to 450 volts, in 15-volt increments. There are also verbal designations which range from SLIGHT SHOCK to DANGER—SEVERE SHOCK. The teacher is told that he is to administer the learning test to the man in the other room. When the learner responds correctly, the teacher moves on to the next item; when the other man gives an incorrect answer, the teacher is to give him an electrical shock. He is to start at the lowest shock level (15 volts) and to increase the level each time the man makes an error, going through 30 volts, 45 volts, and so on.

The "teacher" is a genuinely naïve subject who has come to the laboratory to participate in an experiment. The learner, or victim, is an actor who actually receives no shock at all. The point of the experiment is to see how far a person will proceed in a . . . situation in which he is ordered to inflict increasing pain on a protesting victim. At what point will the subject refuse to obey the experimenter?

Conflict arises when the man receiving the shock begins to indicate that he is experiencing discomfort. At 75 volts, the "learner" grunts. At 120 volts he complains verbally; at 150 he demands to be released from the experiment. His protests continue as the shocks escalate, growing increasingly vehement and emotional. At 285 volts his response can only be described as an agonized scream. . . .

For the subject, the situation is not a game; conflict is intense and obvious. On one hand, the . . . suffering of the learner presses him to quit. On the other, the experimenter, a legitimate authority to whom the subject feels some commitment, enjoins him to continue. Each time the subject hesitates to administer shock, the experimenter orders him to continue. . . .

There are, of course, enormous differences between carrying out the orders of a commanding officer during times of war and carrying out the orders of an experimenter. Yet . . . one may ask in a general way: How does a man behave when he is told by a legitimate authority to act against a third individual? . . . .

A reader's initial reaction to the experiment may be to wonder why anyone in his right mind would administer even the first shocks. Would he not simply refuse and walk out of the laboratory? But the fact is that no one ever does. Since the subject has come to the laboratory to aid the experimenter, he is quite willing to start off with the procedure. . . . Despite the fact that many subjects experience stress, despite the fact that many protest to the experimenter, a substantial proportion continue to the last shock on the generator.

Many subjects will obey the experimenter no matter how vehement the pleading of the person being shocked, no matter how painful the shocks seem to be, and no matter how much the victim pleads to be let out. . . .

A commonly offered explanation is that those who shocked the victim at the most severe level were monsters, the sadistic fringe of society. But if one considers that almost two-thirds of the participants fall into the category of "obedient" subjects, and that they represented ordinary people . . . the argument becomes very shaky. Indeed, it is highly reminiscent of the issue that arose in connection with Hannah Arendt's 1963 book, *Eichmann in Jerusalem*. Arendt contended that the prosecution's effort to depict Eichmann as a sadistic monster was fundamentally wrong, that he came closer to being an uninspired bureaucrat who simply sat at his desk and did his job. . . . it was felt that the monstrous deeds carried out by Eichmann required a brutal, twisted, and sadistic personality . . . After witnessing hundreds of ordinary people submit to the authority in our own experiments, I must conclude that Arendt's conception of the *banality of evil* comes closer to the truth than one might dare imagine. The ordinary person who shocked the victim did so out of a sense of obligation—. . .—and not from any peculiarly aggressive tendencies.

This is, perhaps, the most fundamental lesson of our study: ordinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process. Moreover, even when the destructive effects of their work become . . . clear, and they are asked to carry out actions incompatible with fundamental standards of morality, relatively few people have the resources needed to resist authority.

Questions for Discussion

1. Describe the Milgram "shock" experiment.
2. Did the participants feel uneasy about what they were doing? Erich Fromm in his book, *Anatomy of Destructiveness,* has suggested that we should emphasize the difficulty people had in obeying Milgram's orders.
3. What do you think would have been your reaction if you had been the teacher? How does the issue of "responsibility" play a role in the subject's decision to shock the learner?
4. Is the capacity for obedience an innate part of human nature? Can humans be taught to disobey orders that lead to the infliction of pain on others? How could this be done?
5. Are there times when it is important or necessary to obey without question or hesitation? Give examples.
6. What is meant by the "banality of evil"?

Definition

enjoins—commands

You Will Do as Directed

Ron Jones

Ron Jones, once a teacher in California, wrote the following article about an experience with a class during a unit on World War II. It may be more accurate to say he began an experiment which went in a direction he did not expect. As described in the article, the experiment took a life of its own and Jones faced a dilemma: How to end the experiment without hurting students who had become completely caught up in it. Yet, the experiment raised disturbing questions about the attraction of authoritarian ideas.

. . . for a moment it all rushed back.

Steve McDonald had been a student in my World History class. As he came running down the street shouting, "Mr. Jones! Mr. Jones!" I had to stop for a minute to remember: Who is this young man hugging me? Steve sensed my doubt and backed up, then smiled, and slowly raised a hand in a cupped position. My God! He's a member of the Third Wave. It's Steve—Steve McDonald. . . .

I unconsciously raised my hand in the same salute: two comrades meeting long after the war. "Mr. Jones, do you remember the Third Wave?" I sure do: one of the most frightening events I have ever experienced in the classroom.

We talked and laughed about our secret, the Third Wave, for the next few hours. Then it was time to part. Steve turned and gave the salute without a word. I returned the gesture.

The Third Wave. Well, at last it can be talked about. The nightmare must finally be waning, after three years. I think it was Steve who initiated it all with a question.

We were studying Nazi Germany, and in the middle of a lecture he asked: How could the German people claim ignorance of the slaughter of the Jews? How could railroad conductors, teachers, doctors, know nothing about concentration camps and human carnage? How could neighbors and even friends of a Jewish citizen say they weren't there when it happened? I didn't know the answer.

There were several months to go in the school year and we were already at World War II, so I decided to take a week and explore the issue.

Strength Through Discipline

On Monday I introduced my class to one of the key experiences of Nazi Germany—discipline. I talked about the beauty of discipline: how an athlete feels having worked hard and regularly to be successful at a sport; how a ballet dancer or painter perfects a movement, or a scientist pursues an idea. It's discipline, self-control, the power of the will, the tolerance of physical hardship for superior mental and physical ability. The ultimate triumph.

To demonstrate the power of discipline, I invited the class to try a new sitting posture. I described how proper posture assists concentration and strengthens the will. In fact, I commanded them to adopt this posture: feet flat on the floor, hands placed flat across the small of the back to force a straight alignment of the spine. "There. Can't you breathe more easily. Don't you feel better?"

We practiced this new position over and over. I walked up and down the aisles making small improvements. Proper sitting became the most important aspect of learning. I would allow the class to leave their desks, then call them abruptly back to sitting at attention. In speed drills they learned to move from standing to sitting in 15 seconds.

After repeated drilling, the class could move silently from outside the room to sitting at attention at their desks in five seconds.

It was strange how quickly the students took to this code of uniform behavior. I began to wonder just how far they could be pushed. Was this display of obedience a temporary game we were all playing, or was it something else? Was the desire for discipline and conformity a natural need, a social instinct we exercise subliminally inside a world of franchise restaurants and TV programming?

I decided to stretch the class's tolerance for regimented action. In the final 25 minutes I introduced some new rules: students must be sitting at attention *before* the late bell; all must carry pencils and paper for note taking; when asking or answering questions, students must stand at the side of their desks; the first words of what they say must always be "Mr. Jones." We practiced questions and answers to achieve promptness and respect. Eventually, the intensity of the response became more important than the content. To accentuate this, I demanded answers of three words or less.

Soon everyone began popping up with questions and answers, even formerly hesitant speakers. The entire class seemed more involved—listening more intently, speaking out more openly, offering greater support. There was even a marked improvement in the quality of answers.

As for my part, I had nothing but questions. Here I was creating an authoritarian environment and it was turning out to be highly productive. I began to ponder not just how far this class could be pushed but how much I would alter my belief in the open classroom and self-directed learning.

Strength Through Community

On Tuesday, the second day, I entered the classroom to find everyone sitting silently at attention. Some of their faces were relaxed with smiles that come from pleasing the teacher. But most of the students were looking straight ahead earnestly—neck muscles rigid, no sign of a smile or a thought. To release the tension I went to the board and wrote in big letters:

STRENGTH THROUGH DISCIPLINE

Below this I wrote a second law:

STRENGTH THROUGH COMMUNITY

While the class sat in stern silence, I began to talk—lecture, sermonize—about the value of community. Inwardly I was debating whether to stop the experiment or continue. I hadn't forseen such intensity or compliance. In fact, I was surprised to find my ideas on discipline acted out at all. I talked on and on, making up stories from my experience as an athlete, coach and historian. It was easy. Community is that bond between individuals who work and struggle together. It's raising a barn with your neighbors, feeling that you are part of something beyond yourself—a team, a cause, *la raza*.

I told the class that community-like discipline must be experienced to be understood. I had them chant in unison: "Strength Through Discipline. Strength Through Community." It was fun. They began to look at each other and sense the power of belonging; everyone was capable and equal.

As the period was ending, and without forethought, I created a salute for class members only. To make it you brought your right hand up toward the right shoulder in a curled position. I called it the "Third Wave" salute because the hand resembled a wave about to top over, and beach lore has it that waves travel in series, the third wave being the last and largest. I made it a rule to salute all class members outside the classroom. When the bell sounded, with everyone sitting at attention, I slowly raised my arm and with a cupped hand saluted. It was a signal of recognition. Without command the entire group returned the salute.

Throughout the day, around the school, students from the class exchanged this greeting. I would be walking down the hall when suddenly three classmates would turn and flash a quick salute. In the library or in gym, they'd be seen giving this signal of recognition. The mystique of 30 individuals making this strange gesture soon called attention to the class and its exploration of the Nazi German personality. Many students outside the class asked if they could join.

Strength Through Action

On Wednesday I decided to issue membership cards to everyone who wanted to continue what I called "the experiment." Not a single student elected to leave the room. There were now 43 in the class; 13 had cut other classes to join us. While the students sat at attention, I gave them each a card. I marked three of the cards with a red X and informed the recipients that they had a special assignment: to report any members not complying with class rules. I then explained how discipline and community were meaningless without action. I discussed the beauty of taking full responsibility, of believing so thoroughly in yourself and your community or family that you would do anything to preserve and protect them. I stressed how hard work and allegiance to each other would accelerate learning.

At this point, people began to volunteer testimonials: "Mr. Jones, for the first time I'm learning lots of things." "Mr. Jones, why don't you teach like this all the time?" I had been pushing information at them in an extremely controlled setting, and the fact that they liked it was shocking. . . . I began to think they might do anything I assigned, and I decided to find out.

To create the experience of direct action I gave each individual a specific assignment: "It is your task to design a Third Wave banner . . . to stop any student who is not a Third Wave member from entering this room . . . to memorize the name and address of every Third Wave member . . . to convince at least 20 children in the adjacent elementary school that our sitting posture is necessary for better learning." I also asked each student to give me the name and address of one reliable friend who might want to join the Third Wave. I announced that once recommended, new members would receive a card and must pledge obedience to our rules.

By this time the whole school was alive with rumor and curiosity. Our principal came into an afternoon faculty meeting and gave me the Third Wave salute. The librarian thanked me for the 30-foot banner on learning, which she placed above the library entrance. By the end of the day, over 200 students were admitted into the order. I felt alone and a little scared.

Most of my fear came from the incidence of tattletaling. Although I appointed only three students to report deviate behavior, about 20 came to me with reports of Allan's not saluting, or Georgene's criticizing our experiment. This meant that half the class now considered it their duty to observe and report on other members.

By the end of the third day I was exhausted; I'd lost the balance between role playing and directed behavior. Many of the students were completely absorbed in being Third Wave members. They demanded strict obedience and bullied those who took the experiment lightly. Others simply fell into step and assigned themselves roles. I particularly remember Robert, big for his age and an academic drudge, though he tried harder than anyone I know to be successful. Like so many kids in school who don't excel or cause trouble, Robert was invisible. The only reason I came to know him at all was that I usually found him eating lunch in my classroom, alone.

The Third Wave gave Robert a place. At last he was equal to everyone; he could take part. Wednesday afternoon I found him following me and asked what in the world he was doing. He smiled (I don't think I'd ever seen him smile) and announced: "Mr. Jones, I'm your bodyguard. I'm afraid something will happen to you. Can I do it, Mr. Jones, please?" Given that assurance and smile, I couldn't say no. For the rest of the day Robert remained at my side, opening and closing doors for me, smiling at and saluting other class members. In the faculty room he stood silently at attention while I gulped coffee. When accosted by another teacher for being in the teachers room, he just smiled and informed the faculty member that he wasn't a student, he was a bodyguard.

Strength Through Pride

By Thursday I was ready to wind things up. Many students were over the line; the Third Wave was dominating their existence. I myself was now acting instinctively as a dictator, however benevolent.

By now the class had swollen to over 80. A strange calm takes effect in a room full of people sitting at perfect attention. I talked ringingly about pride. "Pride is more than banners or salutes. Pride is something no one can take from you. Pride is knowing you are the best. It can't be destroyed." In the midst of this crescendo I abruptly lowered my voice to announce the real reason for the Third Wave. "The Third Wave isn't just an experiment or classroom activity. It's far more important. The Third Wave is a nationwide program to find students willing to fight for political change. That's right. What we've been doing has been practice for the real thing. Across the country teachers have been recruiting and training a youth brigade capable of demonstrating a better society through discipline, community, pride and action. If we can change the way school is run, we can change the way factories, universities and all the other institutions are run. You are a selected group of young people chosen to help in this cause. If you will display what you have learned in the past four days, we can bring this nation a new sense of discipline, community, pride and action. Everything rests with you and your willingness to take a stand."

To show my seriousness I turned to three people who I knew had questioned the Third Wave, and demanded that they leave the room. I assigned four guards to escort them to the library and keep them from entering class on Friday. Then dramatically I announced a special noon rally on Friday—a rally for Third Wave members only.

It was a wild gamble. I just kept talking, afraid that if I stopped someone would laugh or ask a question and the grand scheme would dissolve. I explained how at noon Friday a national candidate for president would declare a Third Wave Youth Program. Simultaneously, over a thousand youth groups from every part of the country would stand up in support of the movement. I confided that the students in my class had been selected to represent their area, and I asked if they would make a good showing, because the press had been invited. There was no laughter, no murmur of resistance. Quite the contrary. Feverish excitement swept the room. "We can do it!" "Should we wear white shirts?" "Can we bring friends?"

"It's all set for tomorrow," I said. "Be in the auditorium ten minutes before noon. Be seated, ready to display the discipline, community and pride you have learned. Don't talk to anyone about this. This rally is for members only."

Strength Through Understanding

I spent most of Friday morning preparing the auditorium for the rally. At 11:30 students began to show up—at first a few scouting the way and then more. Row after row filled up in hushed silence. Third Wave banners hung like clouds over the assembly. At 12 sharp I sealed the room and placed guards at each door. Several friends of mine posing as reporters and photographers began to interact with the crowd, taking pictures and jotting down notes. A group photograph was taken. The room was crammed with over 200 students: athletes, social stars, student leaders, loners, kids that always left school early, bikers, the pseudo hip. . . . But they all looked like one force as they sat at attention, focused on the TV set at the front of the room. . . .

"Before turning on the national press conference, I want you to demonstrate the extent of our training." With that, I gave the salute, and automatically 200 arms stabbed a reply. I then pronounced the words "Strength Through Discipline" and the chorus replied. We did this again and again. Each time the response was louder. The photographers were covering the ritual, but by now no one noticed them. Again the room rocked with a . . . cry, "Strength Through Discipline!"

At 12:05 I turned off the lights and walked to the TV. . . . I switched the set on and stood next to it, facing the people. The machine came to life, producing a field of light. . . . Their eyes strained and pulled toward it, but the blank screen didn't change. The room stayed deadly still; there was a mental tug of war between the people and the television. Yet the white glow didn't snap into an image of a political candidate, it just hummed on. . . . This trance continued for what seemed like hours. It was 12:07. . . . Nothing. . . . Anticipation turned to anxiety and then to frustration. Finally someone stood up and shouted: "There isn't any leader is there?"

Everyone turned in shock, first to the desperate student and then back to the television. Their faces filled with disbelief. In the confusion of the moment I moved slowly toward the set and turned it off. Immediately I felt air rush back into the room; the room remained silent, but people were breathing again, bringing their arms from behind their chairs. Instead of a flood of questions, there was intense quietness. I began to speak.

"Listen closely; I have something important to tell you. . . . There is no leader! There is no such thing as a national youth movement called the Third Wave. You've been used, manipulated, shoved by your own desires to where you now find yourself. You're no better or worse than the German Nazis we have been studying.

"You thought you were the elect—better than those outside this room. You bargained your freedom for the comfort of discipline. You chose to accept the group's will over your own convictions. Oh, you think you were just going along for the fun, that you could extricate yourself at any moment. But where were you heading? How far would you have gone? Let me show you your future."

With that I switched on a rear screen projector, which lit up a white cloth behind the TV. Large numbers appeared in a countdown; then the roar of the Nuremberg rally blasted into vision. My heart was pounding. In ghostly images the Third Reich paraded into the room: discipline, super race, the big lie, arrogance, violence, terror. People being pushed into vans, the visual stench of death camps, faces without eyes. The trials, the plea of ignorance, "I was only doing my job." As abruptly as it started, the film froze on a single written frame: "Everyone must accept the blame. No one can claim that they didn't in some way take part."

In the dark the last footage flapped against the projector. I felt sick to my stomach. No one moved. As if awakening from a deep dream, the whole room took one last look back into their minds.

"In the past week we have all tasted what it was like to live and act in Nazi Germany. We learned what it felt like to create a disciplined social environment, pledge allegiance to that society, replace reason with rules. Yes, we would all have made good Nazis. We would have put on the uniform, turned our heads as friends and neighbors were cursed and then persecuted, pulled the locks shut, worked in the "defense" plants, burned ideas. We now know in a small way what it feels like to find a hero, to grab quick solutions, to control our destiny. We know the fear of being left out, the pleasure of doing something right and being rewarded. Perhaps we have seen what these actions can lead to.

"Over the past week we have seen that fascism is not just something those other people did. It's right here in this room, in our own personal habits and way of life. Scratch the surface and it appears; we carry it like a disease: the belief that human beings are basically evil and therefore demand a strong leader and discipline to preserve social order.

"This is the crucial lesson, which started our plunge into Nazi life. Do you remember the question? It went something like this: How could the German soldier, teacher, railroad conductor, nurse, tax collector, the average citizen, claim afterwards that they knew nothing of what was going on? How could they be part of something and then say at the end that they were not really involved? What causes people to blank out their own history? In the next few minutes and perhaps years, you'll have the chance to answer this question.

"If our enactment of the fascist mentality is complete, not one of you will ever admit to being at this Third Wave rally. You won't allow your friends and parents, or even yourself, to know you were willing to give up individual freedom to the dictates of order and unseen leaders. You won't admit to being manipulated, to accepting this madness as a way of life. You will keep the Third Wave and this rally a secret. It's a secret I shall share with you."

I took the film from the news cameras and exposed it to the light. The Third Wave had ended.

Students slowly rose from their chairs and without talking began to file outdoors. Robert was sobbing. I walked over and threw my arms around him. We stood in the stream of students, some of whom swirled back to hold us for a moment. Others were crying or moving toward the door and the world outside.

For a week in the middle of a school year we had shared something fully. In the four years I taught at Cubberley High School, no one ever spoke of the Third Wave rally. Certainly we thought over what we'd done. But the rally itself, everyone wanted to forget.

Questions for Discussion

1. The teacher tried to draw parallels between behavior of the students and the German nation in the 1930's. Do you believe the parallels are valid? Explain.
2. Why were the students willing to follow Jones—even beyond the point at which he was satisfied? Do you feel students are more likely to obey or reject such authority?
3. Having read this story, are you willing to claim that you could not be taken in by such an experiment in *your own* classroom? What values separate *you* from such behavior?
4. How does Jones make use of terms like discipline, community, pride, and strength to convert his students? How can these seemingly positive terms take on an ominous meaning?
5. Which of these two statements is more true:

   "Young people desperately want to believe in something."
   "Young people are so cynical that they believe in little and want to believe in nothing."

   Which of these statements, if true, would be more dangerous?
6. Do you believe our schools teach students more how to obey or disobey? Discuss the implications of your answer.

The Sounds of Silence

Paul Simon

One ever-present theme of our study is the effect of silence. Children grow up knowing that "silence is golden," and they learn to "see no evil, speak no evil, hear no evil." Tragically, many respond to the events of suffering in just this manner. We should ask why we so often choose the role of spectator.

Paul Simon's classic, "The Sounds of Silence," comments on this indifference of people to what is happening all around them. As we begin this anthology, we cannot forget that "silence like a cancer grows."

Hello darkness my old friend
I've come to talk with you again
Because a vision softly creeping
Left its seeds while I was sleeping
And the vision that was planted in my brain
Still remains
Within the sounds of silence
In restless dreams I walked alone
Narrow streets of cobblestone
'Neath a halo of a street lamp
I turned my collar to the cold and damp
When my eyes were stabbed by the flash of a neon light
It split the night
And touched the sound of silence
And in the naked light I saw
Ten thousand people maybe more
People talking without speaking
People hearing without listening
People writing songs that voices never shared
No one dared
Disturb the sound of silence
Fools, said I, you do not know
Silence like a cancer grows
Hear my words that I might teach you
Take my arms that I might reach you
But my words like silent raindrops fell
And echoed the will of silence
And the people bowed and prayed
To the neon god they made
And the sign flashed out its warning
In the words that it was forming
And the sign said:
The words of the prophets are
Written on the subway walls
And tenement halls
And whispered in the sound of silence

Questions for Discussion

1. What is your reaction to the lines:

   "People talking without speaking
   People hearing without listening"?

2. What is the "neon god" to which people pray?

The Mayor's Choice

What Would You Do?

Choices. Whether to make a saving phone call. Whether to deliver electric shocks to an innocent stranger. Whether to obey an authoritarian leader. Choices. This anthology is filled with sharp examples of people compelled to make choices. Often these decisions are agonizingly difficult, but they cannot be avoided. Yet, the choices we make do matter and therefore they should be examined carefully. The following clear example of a decision immediately immerses the reader into the real world of brutal decision making.

It is the year of 1944. The Second World War is still in full fury and Germany occupies much of Europe, including Greece. The Greek people are unhappily resigned to the Nazi invaders, but there are small pockets of underground resistance. Occasionally, a German soldier is killed by Greek partisans. Consequently, the Germans institute a basic rule. For every German soldier killed by civilians in an occupied village, twenty men from that village would be immediately executed.

One clear evening, three Greek commandos from a neighboring village enter a village and kill four German soldiers. Soon they are all caught and held by the Nazis.

The German commanding officer asks to see the mayor of the village. The mayor is an unusual man. He is a pacifist, a man who does not believe in any killing, even in war. The officer explains to the mayor about the twenty-to-one rule of German occupying forces. In compliance with this rule, eighty Greek males from the village had been rounded up. The officer states that they will all be shot at sunrise the next morning. These same men are right now digging a large ditch in the village courtyard. Tomorrow morning, they will descend into that ditch, which will be surrounded by machine guns. At the officer's signal, the eighty men will all be executed.

The mayor is horrified by this suggestion and pleads for the lives of his townspeople. The German officer smiles and then offers the mayor a deal. He informs the mayor that he can save the lives of his people only if he agrees to the following action: On that same morning, the three partisans will be placed near the ditch with their hands tied behind their backs. The German officer will take an empty rifle and hand it to the mayor. If the mayor wishes to save the lives of his townspeople in the ditch, he must bash in the heads of the three rebels until they are dead.

The German officer explains that the mayor will have the night to consider his offer.

The next morning, the scene is set just as the German officer pictured it. Eighty men look up from the ditch and wonder what will happen to them. The courtyard is filled with weeping wives and confused children. All wait for the mayor's decision.

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*This story is adapted from the movie version of John Fowles' *The Magus*.

Questions for Discussion

1. What alternatives were available to the mayor? What goal could have been achieved by any of the mayor's actions? What should the mayor have done?
2. Are the partisans ultimately responsible if any of the townspeople die?
3. Suppose the following happened: The mayor took the gun from the German officer and readied himself to strike one of the partisans. It is clear that all of the partisans have been beaten up badly. But through his bloodied mouth, one of the partisans yells "Long live Greece" just as the mayor is about to hit him. The mayor realizes that he cannot kill these people, throws aside his gun, and places himself with the partisans, expecting to die. The order is given and the German machine gunners execute all the men in the ditch. Then, the three partisans are shot. But, the mayor is left to live with the memory of his choice. Not three, not eighty, but eighty-three men have died.

   If this occurred, what judgment would you make? Is the mayor a coward?

Bus of Quiet Terror

Stanley L. Engelbardt

We live in an age of pessimism about human nature. All kinds of "evidence" has been offered to prove that humans are basically evil, uncaring, conforming, and selfish. Ethologists such as Konrad Lorenz, Robert Ardrey, and Desmond Morris have all advanced the view that human beings are similar to other animals. Since animals, in their view, are basically aggressive and warlike, humans must be the same.

Anthropologist Colin Turnbull's study of the IK, an African tribe, has been used to reinforce the view that humans lack basic compassion. The IK were nomads, basically hunters and food gatherers. When their hunting territory was made into a national park, the IK fell into near starvation. They became a culture of hunger, hostility, and mutual suspicion. By rejecting the family unit, the IK became a society of individuals, each with the responsibility for only his or her own survival.

Yet some scholars argue that we want only to be told that war is beyond the control of even reasonable people. If bloody conflict is in our genes or inherited from our animal nature, then we can rationalize even our most cruel actions. We need feel no responsibility for what is an inescapable part of our nature.

This anthology will not easily accept this negative view of human behavior. Obviously, the evidence of human beings' capacity for atrocity and indifference is disturbing. Yet there are many individual examples of people who have performed acts of goodness for other people. One example is described in the following story by Stanley L. Engelbardt.

The yellow school bus had gone about 100 yards up the sharply curving northbound access ramp to Interstate-81, near Nanticoke, Pa., when its right front tire suddenly slipped off the asphalt pavement. As the driver wrestled for control, his vehicle shot across the road shoulder, rode up a steep, rocky embankment, rose high in the air and rolled over onto its left side. A tongue of flame and oily smoke curled out from the hood amid sounds of shattering glass and crumpling metal. Then all was quiet.

Bill and Karen Durdon of Conyngham, Pa., had recently returned from a mountain-climbing vacation in Wyoming. On this afternoon—it was Sunday, September 17, 1978—they decided to look for a rock face on which to practice their mountaineering skills. Near the Nanticoke exchange on I-81, Bill spotted a promising rock formation off to the right and eased his car into the exit. But the exit lane curved away from the rock. Bill decided that the entrance lane, which curved in the other direction like the second leg of a spread bobby pin, would bring them right under it.

At the end of the exit ramp he U-turned and headed back up toward I-81. About 50 yards into the entrance road, the Durdons saw a cloud of dust rising from the shoulder of the road. Then they glimpsed a horrifying sight: a school bus rolling over on its side. *It's Sunday,* Bill thought as he pulled up 25 yards behind the stricken vehicle and sprang from the car. *No kids on board.*

Karen was of the same mind as she sprinted toward the bus. But suddenly the rear emergency door, which was hanging down from its hinges, swung out just far enough to let a small boy dribble onto the ground. A second later another boy and a girl dropped out the same way.

Karen, closest to the door, lifted it to give the children more room. She was about to let it drop when she glanced inside the bus.

. . . The front third of the bus was ringed by fire, while black smoke billowed through the rest of the cabin. The space between the tops of the seats and the roof was littered with suitcases, and on top of or mixed in among them were dozens of dazed or struggling children.

Fifteen minutes before, having picked up the last of its 34 weekending passengers, the bus had been heading back to the Scranton State School for the Deaf. What the Durdons couldn't know was that all the youngsters on board (ranging in age from 9 to 17) had severe hearing and speech impairment. Most wore hearing aids to amplify the small spectrum of sounds they could pick up. In the terror that followed, most of the hearing aids were torn from their ears and lost among suitcases and packages.

"Be calm and come to the back of the bus," Karen shouted. But the children paid no attention. Instead, they skirted the flames to scamper out through the broken front window.

A few seconds more, though, and fire and smoke sealed off this passage. Only then did the children notice the open rear emergency door and stumble toward it. . . .

"It was a chaotic scene," Karen recalls. "But the children were amazingly disciplined and concerned about each other." She saw older kids pull younger ones out from among the bags and herd them toward the rear door. Some came out holding hands, leading and pulling each other in a human chain. As they approached the emergency door, Bill leaned in and helped them along.

But the evacuation process was fearfully slow. Only about a dozen children managed to get out in the first minute; more than 20 were still trapped in the bus. The gas tank had apparently ruptured, and fuel-fed flames were licking back along walls and floorboards. And the burning vinyl fabric of the seat covers was giving off choking, acrid fumes.

Some of the children were becoming confused in the smoke. Still not realizing they were deaf, Bill shouted, "Stay calm," emphasizing his words with a palms-down gesture. A teen-ager saw Bill, nodded slightly and—mistaking Bill's meaning—obediently sat down. Frantically, Bill motioned him to get up and "Come on out this way!"

Bill exchanged a quick look with Karen, then plunged into the bus. At first he tried to reassure the youngsters. While they couldn't hear him, his calm presence got several of them up and moving toward the emergency door.

But the dense smoke cut visibility to inches, and the flames were producing a steady roar. "My God," Bill shouted back to Karen, "this thing is going to blow!"

Abandoning his calmness, Bill tore through suitcases, tossing them aside wildly and shoving youngsters toward the door. "I grabbed onto any part that was handy," he recalls, "just as long as I could move them to within Karen's grasp."

Jim Kessell and Steve Christina of Jeddo, Pa., were heading south on I-81 when they saw smoke billowing ahead. They guessed that it was an auto accident but could hardly believe the sight that greeted them: smoke-blackened children huddled on the center strip; a blazing, overturned school bus; a young woman struggling to hold open the emergency door.

As they pulled up and raced across the exit ramp to help, they could see kids near the emergency door in the rear of the bus. Jim . . . grabbed the emergency door just as Karen's strength was giving out. Meanwhile, Steve, who uses crutches as the result of an accident, leaned into the cabin, using a wooden crutch to fish out children.

Inside the bus, Bill was fighting new problems. "The smoke was making me sick and disoriented," he remembers. "I thought I might pass out and go up with the vehicle. . . ."

But he kept searching and eventually found a boy half-buried under luggage. *Make it the last one*, he prayed. As he gripped the back of the boy's sweatshirt, he spotted a second child just behind the driver's seat, completely ringed by fire.

Bill took a couple of steps backward, dragging the first boy "like a sack of potatoes" with him. Just then there was a dull explosion up front. Voices from the rear were urging him to get out before the whole bus went up. As he stepped back again, something caught his shoes and tore them from his feet. He continued barefoot, homing in on Jim Kessell's voice, which kept repeating, "This way, son . . . this way." Finally, powerful arms reached in and pulled them both from the cabin.

"There's another kid in there!" Bill yelled. "Up front!"

"Don't worry," Steve replied, leading Bill to fresh air. "We'll get him."

At this point, there was a steady wail of sirens as emergency vehicles from eight towns converged on the scene. Among the early arrivals were Monsignors John Dougherty and Paul Terracciano and Fathers Francis Callahan and Joseph Rauscher, all of the Diocese of Scranton, returning from a Sacred Heart Congress. While Dougherty went to see if he could help at the bus, the others tended to the children. Until then, nobody had realized that the youngsters were deaf. But Fathers Callahan and Rauscher knew sign language and recognized the problem immediately. With communication established, they began to sort out those most in need of medical attention.

At the bus, Steve, Jim and Monsignor Dougherty were wondering how they could reach the remaining fire-encircled youngster when someone handed Jim a fire extinguisher. "Let's go!" Jim shouted, using the extinguisher to clear a path to the boy. They passed him hand to hand to safety.

The rescuers were now convinced they'd removed the last child. But several kids kept forming what sounded like the name "Barbara." "Must be another kid in there," Steve said. They lifted the emergency door again and peered through the smoke. Sure enough, just a few feet inside, a head and an arm poked up through a mound of luggage. Bill must have walked over the youngster several times without realizing he was there. Now hands reached in and yanked him free.

Was this "Barbara"? As it turned out, none of the children had known whether everyone on the bus was out. They were simply asking for Barbara Graham, the school audiologist. Without her—and without the hearing aids she provided—they felt cut off from the speaking-and-hearing world of their rescuers. Yet in asking for her they had saved one of themselves. . . .

Only five or six minutes had gone by since the Durdons first saw the bus settle on its side. Others had taken charge now. . . .

The Durdons rode home in growing disbelief at what they'd gone through. They called a neighbor to tell him what happened. "I just heard about that accident on the evening news," the friend said. "All the kids were saved."

"Thank God," Bill breathed. "Now I can relax."

It wasn't until the next evening that the Durdons' phone started ringing. Someone had remembered their heroic effort, and a policeman had come up with their names. The callers were parents, school officials, friends, relatives, well-wishers. All wanted to say "thank you."

Bill claims, "We just did what had to be done." Even so, several organizations have cited both Durdons for heroism, along with Steve Christina and Jim Kessell. But it's not medals and plaques the Durdons drag out when talking about the accident. Instead, Karen likes to show you a large envelope filled with cards and letters sent by the children and their parents. One message, in a youthful scrawl, says, "Bless you for stopping and caring. It's people like you who make everything in the world look good."

Questions for Discussion

1. How did the children on the bus help each other after the accident? Does this surprise you?
2. Why do you think the Durdons, Steve Christina, and Jim Kessell stopped to help the children? Do you think you would have done the same? Why or why not?
3. William Golding's *Lord of the Flies* was a very popular novel of the 1950s. It deals with a group of English school children who are air-wrecked on an island. Gradually, the children divide into separate camps. Eventually, several children are murdered by other children, and the island is set ablaze. Golding argues that these children express basic human behavior. How do you react to this? If a random group of individuals were deserted in the same setting, do you think the same result would occur?
4. Comment on this statement by Elie Wiesel: "Don't think of man's sins . . . think rather of his good deeds. They are fewer, I agree . . . but you must admit, they are more precious. Believe me, it isn't easy to be good in this world. And if I didn't see with my own two eyes that man, in spite of all obstacles, is capable of kindness, I would not believe it. And so I ask of you, don't be harsh with your children; rare as it may be, it is their kindness that should surprise you."
5. In March, 1983, a young woman was raped by four men in a New Bedford, Massachusetts bar while some twenty people watched—and even cheered what was happening. How do you reconcile this incident with what occurred on Interstate 81? Which incident do you believe is more typical of humanity?

Twenty-First Century Schizoid Man

King Crimson

This is rock group King Crimson's apocalyptic vision of the future—or is it the present?

Cat's foot iron claw
Neuro-surgeons scream for more
At paranoia's poison door
Twenty-first century schizoid man

Blood racked barbed wire
Politicians' funeral pyre
Innocents raped with napalm fire
Twenty-first century schizoid man

Death seed blind man's greed
Poets' starving children bleed
Nothing he's got he really needs
Twenty-first century schizoid man

Epitaph

The wall on which the prophets wrote
Is cracking at the seams
Upon the instruments of death
The sunlight brightly gleams.
When every man is torn apart
With nightmares and with dreams
Will no one lay the laurel wreath
As silence drowns the screams

Between the iron gates of fate,
The seeds of time are sown
And watered by the deed of those
Who know and who are known
Knowledge is a deadly friend
When no one sets the rules
The fate of all mankind I see
Is in, the hands of fools

Confusion will be my epitaph
As I crawl a cracked and broken path
If we make it we can all sit back
and laugh.

But I fear tomorrow I'll be crying.
Yes I fear tomorrow I'll be crying.

Questions for Discussion

1. What is napalm?
2. How do you react to the lines:

   "Will no one lay the laurel wreath
   As silence drowns the screams," and

   "Knowledge is a deadly friend
   When no one sets the rules"?
3. How do you feel about this image of the world? Explain.
4. In what sense are people "schizoid" today?

Definitions

paranoia—a mental disease characterized by feelings of persecution or grandeur
schizoid—a person who suffers from severe feelings of persecution and withdrawal

Views of Prejudice and Genocide

This unit probes the issue of prejudice and its ultimate expression in genocide, the systematic murder of a people because of who they are. The expression of prejudice is examined from the viewpoint of oppressor, victim, and spectator. Particular emphasis is placed upon the causes and origins of prejudice. A brief review of history reveals how genocide may have its roots deeply entrenched in the past. Specific examples of genocide, from the murder of the Armenians, the massacre of the American Indian, the recent Cambodian slaughter, to the lesser-known "quiet" destruction of the Aché people, are examined.

Attitudes Toward Groups

We begin this unit by exploring your views about certain groups. Examine each statement very carefully. In the space to the left of each statement, print (SA) if you strongly agree; (A) if you agree; (D) if you disagree; or (SD) if you strongly disagree. Apply each statement to the various groups whose initials are found at the top of the columns to the left: "I" stands for Italians; "W," White Anglo-Saxon Protestants; "J," Jews; "B," Blacks; and "P," Puerto Ricans.

Another way to do this activity within a classroom is to divide into groups of five. Each group should, after extensive discussion, come to a consensus about these ethnic and racial groups. This activity has been adapted from *The Racist Reader* by Gary McCuen.

I — W — J — B — P

1. Have many irritating habits and manners.
2. Are usually very well dressed.
3. Have superior athletic ability.
4. Will seek to exploit others.
5. Must be dealt with forcefully since democratic procedures will never make them behave properly.
6. Tend to keep to themselves and are suspicious of others.
7. Usually meddle too much and interfere with other people's business.
8. Are generally tolerant of other people.
9. Often lack initiative and dependability.
10. Are extremely ambitious, capable, and intelligent.
11. Are often lazy and ignorant.
12. Are morally superior to others.
13. Often discriminate against others.
14. Usually become wealthy by manipulating and cheating unsuspecting people.
15. Are satisfied with their lot and are fair in their dealings with others.
16. Are never satisfied and are always seeking more money and power.
17. Usually try to exert control and influence over others.
18. Are the ones behind the Communist menace in the United States.
19. Have money and power out of all proportion to their numbers.
20. Are mostly patriotic individuals who would stand up for the U.S. above all others.
21. Are largely responsible for the increase of crime and lawlessness in the U.S.
22. Put more emphasis on material than spiritual values.
23. Are fair with each other but ruthless in their dealings with other people.
24. Will probably succeed in education.
25. Prove to be as trustworthy as other people.
26. Control most of our powerful economic and political institutions.
27. Should be allowed to intermarry with any group.
28. Are the most likely to be aggressive and start fights.
29. Are almost always courteous and friendly.
30. Practice strange customs.
31. Lack imagination.
32. Are cunning and proud.
33. Will often display compassion for people in trouble.
34. Are often too emotional.

Questions for Discussion

1. Did you find any differences in your attitudes toward the various groups you examined? How do you explain these differences?
2. Substitute other ethnic, religious and racial groups for those listed above—i.e:. Poles, Vietnamese, Mexicans, Germans, Catholics, Jehovah's Witnesses. What differences do you find in your attitudes? Why?

I Ain't Sleepin' Nexta No Nigger!

Sammy Davis, Jr.

In this selection taken from his autobiography, Sammy Davis, Jr. recalls his experience in army basic training. Blacks have historically been subject to a special kind of prejudice in this country. Of special interest in this story are not only the actions of Davis and his tormentors but also the attitude of the majority who were not directly involved.

He was sitting on the steps of a barracks, sewing an emblem onto a shirt. I walked over to him. "Excuse me, buddy. I'm a little lost. Can you tell me where 202 is?"

The soldier jerked his head, indicating around the corner. "Two buildings over, and I'm not your buddy, you black bastard!" He turned back to his sewing.

The corporal standing outside 202 checked my name against a list on a clipboard. "Yeah—well, you better wait over there awhile 'til we figure out what to do with you."

I was at the Infantry's Basic Training Center at Fort Francis E. Warren in Cheyenne, Wyoming.

I sat on the steps where he'd pointed. Other guys were showing up and he checked them off his list and told them, "Go inside and take the first bunk you see." I looked away for a moment and heard him saying, "Sit over there with Davis."

A tall, powerfully built guy dropped his gear alongside mine. "My name's Edward Robbins." We shook hands and he sat down next to me. One by one, men were arriving and being sent inside. They kept on coming but no one else was told to wait with us. Then, finally, there was no point in hoping against the obvious. It was clear that we were the only ones being held outside while all the white guys were going right in.

The corporal went inside. We were sitting in front of a screen door so even though he lowered his voice I could hear every word he was saying. ". . . look, we got a problem. Those niggers out there are assigned to this company. I'm gonna stick 'em down there. You two guys move your gear so I can give 'em those last two bunks." . . .

There was the sound of iron beds sliding across the wooden floor. The corporal beckoned from the doorway. "Okay, c'mon in and I'll assign you your bunks. Let's go," he snapped, "on the double." We picked up our gear and followed him through the door. I felt like a disease he was bringing in.

There were rows of cots on both sides with an aisle down the center. The guys were standing in groups. They'd stopped talking. I looked straight ahead. I could feel them staring as we followed the corporal down the aisle. He pointed to the last two cots on one side. "These are yours. Now, we don't want no trouble with you. Keep your noses clean, do as you're told, and we'll get along." He walked away.

I looked around the barracks. The bed nearest to ours was empty. All the cots were about two feet apart from each other except ours, which was separated from the rest by about six feet—like we were on an island.

A few of the men sort of smiled and half-waved hello. Some wouldn't look over at us. The nearest, a tall husky guy who must have been a laborer or an athlete, kept his back turned.

A sergeant came in and from the center of the barracks announced, "I'm Sergeant Williams. I'm in charge of this company and I. . . ." His glance fell on the space between the two beds. He turned to the corporal. "What the hell is that?"

The corporal quietly explained how he'd handled things. Sergeant Williams listened, then spoke sharply: "There is only one way we do things here and that's the Army way! There will be exactly three feet of space, to the inch, between every bed in this barracks. You have sixty seconds to replace the beds as you found them. *Move!*"

He came over to me. "What's your name, soldier?"

"Sammy Davis, Jr."

"Of all the men in this barracks did you arrive first or tenth or last or what?"

"About in the middle."

"Did you choose this bunk?"

"Well, no I was told. . . ."

He looked around. By this time the barracks had been re-arranged. "All right, Davis. Move your gear one bunk over." He turned to Edward. "You do the same."

He addressed us all. "No man here is better than the next man unless he's got the rank to prove it."

I sat on the end of my bunk, the shock gone, immense anger growing within me until my legs were shaking and it was impossible for me to keep them still. I couldn't give them the satisfaction of seeing how they'd gotten to me. I saw one of the other guys polishing his boots. That was a good idea. . . . I took off my watch and laid it carefully on the bed. . . . Jennings [the white soldier in the bunk next to Davis] flopped onto his bunk. He sat up, reached over, and took my watch off my bed. "Say, this ain't a half-bad watch." He looked at me suspiciously.

"Put it back."

"Hold on, now. My, but you're an uppity one." He stood up. "Hey Philips . . . catch!" He tossed the watch across the barracks. I ran to get it back, but just as I reached Philips he lobbed it over my head to another guy who threw it back to Jennings. I ran after it, knowing how ridiculous I looked getting there just as Jennings threw it over my head again, that I shouldn't chase after it, that I was only encouraging them, but I was afraid they'd drop it and I couldn't stop myself.

"Atten*shun!*" Every head in the barracks snapped toward the door. Sergeant Williams walked straight to Jennings. "What've you got there?"

Jennings opened his hand and showed him my watch.

"Whose is it?"

Jennings shrugged.

"It's mine."

Sergeant Williams brought it to me. Jennings grinned. "Heck, we were just kiddin' around. I was only showing the watch to them."

"You're a wise guy, Jennings. In the army we respect another guy's property. You just drew K.P. for a week." He left the barracks.

Jennings looked at me with more hatred than I had ever seen in a man's face. "You just wait. I'll fix you for this, black boy."

Questions for Discussion

1. In what ways was prejudice expressed in the barracks?
2. How would you explain the actions of a man like Jennings? How do you explain the sergeant's actions?
3. What do you think about the reaction of the men in the barracks? What would you have done? How should a person respond to an act of prejudice?
3. How do you feel about the reaction of Sammy Davis, Jr.? How would you respond to those who would call Davis and his friends cowards?

The Painted Bird

Jerzy Kosinski

Like the Boy in *The Painted Bird*, Jerzy Kosinski was six years old when World War II broke out. Separated from his parents, he wandered along through the villages of Eastern Europe until the war was over. His novel tells how the boy survived the Holocaust. In this portion of the novel, the concept of "the painted bird" is developed.

On the way home we set more traps; Lekh was tired and withdrawn. In the evening, when the birds fell asleep in their cages, he cheered up. Restless, he spoke of Ludmila. His body trembled, he giggled, closing his eyes. His white pimply cheeks grew flushed.

Sometimes days passed and Stupid Ludmila did not appear in the forest. Lekh would become possessed by a silent rage. He would stare solemnly at the birds in the cages, mumbling something to himself. Finally, after prolonged scrutiny, he would choose the strongest bird, tie it to his wrist, and prepare stinking paints of different colors which he mixed together from the most varied components. When the colors satisfied him, Lekh would turn the bird over and paint its wings, head, and breast in rainbow hues until it became more dappled and vivid than a bouquet of wildflowers.

Then we would go into the thick of the forest. There Lekh took out the painted bird and ordered me to hold it in my hand and squeeze it lightly. The bird would begin to twitter and attract a flock of the same species which would fly nervously over our heads. Our prisoner, hearing them, strained toward them, warbling more loudly, its little heart, locked in its freshly painted breast, beating violently.

When a sufficient number of birds gathered above our heads, Lekh would give me a sign to release the prisoner. It would soar, happy and free, a spot of rainbow against the backdrop of clouds, and then plunge into the waiting brown flock. For an instant the birds were confounded. The painted bird circled from one end of the flock to the other, vainly trying to convince its kin that it was one of them. But, dazzled by its brilliant colors, they flew around it unconvinced. The painted bird would be forced farther and farther away as it zealously tried to enter the ranks of the flock. We saw soon afterwards how one bird after another would peel off in a fierce attack. Shortly the many-hued shape lost its place in the sky and dropped to the ground. When we finally found the painted bird it was usually dead. Lekh keenly examined the number of blows which the bird had received. Blood seeped through its colored wings, diluting the paint and soiling Lekh's hands.

Stupid Ludmila did not return. Lekh, sulking and glum, removed one bird after another from the cages, painted them in still gaudier colors, and released them into the air to be killed by their kin. One day he trapped a large raven, whose wings he painted red, the breast green, and the tail blue. When a flock of ravens appeared over our hut, Lekh freed the painted bird. As soon as it joined the flock a desperate battle began. The changeling was attacked from all sides. Black, red, green, blue feathers began to drop at our feet. The ravens flew amuck in the skies, and suddenly the painted raven plummeted to the fresh-plowed soil. It was still alive, opening its beak and vainly trying to move its wings. Its eyes had been pecked out, and fresh blood streamed over its painted feathers. It made yet another attempt to flutter up from the sticky earth, but its strength was gone.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why were the birds rejected by their own species? Was this a form of prejudice? Why or why not?
2. Have you ever felt like a "painted bird?" How does this become a symbol of all prejudice directed at others in the human family?

Definitions

twitter—series of sharp vocal sounds.
confounded—confused, bewildered.
changeling—a child secretly put in the place of another.
plummeted—fell straight downward.

Propaganda Posters and Leaflets

These posters and leaflets reflect hard-core prejudices felt by some people in the United States today. A careful study of these typical propaganda pamphlets should help us to understand the kinds of arguments made by those with clear prejudices.

In their well-known book, *Prophets of Deceit*, authors Lowenthal and Guterman have concluded that propaganda often appeals to the following overall feelings in people:

1. You've been cheated—Your social position is in jeopardy because of what other groups are doing.
2. There's a widespread conspiracy against us.
3. These conspirators are sexually corrupt too.
4. Our present government is corrupt and weak.
5. We can't trust the foreigners.
6. Our enemies are low animals.
7. There is no middle ground. Those not for us are against us.
8. There must be no polluting of blood.
9. With disaster around the corner, a dramatic change in leadership is necessary.

Individuals who attempt to arouse public opinion by manipulating these explosive emotions have been referred to as demagogues—as persons trying to exploit false statements which do not represent, in fact, the true cause of a particular problem.

Have you "had it" with Black animals following you home to beat you up, or pushing your head in the toilet when you go to the john, or "holding" your lunch money for you?

Conditions in schools have become so rotten that trying to get an education has become a laugh. Who can learn anything caged up with a bunch of cannibals?

They've been telling us for years that niggers are "equal." What a bunch of crap! An administration that believes that is really out of it. As long as they stick together and we don't, we're screwed. But when we learn to stick together, there's nothing we can't accomplish. Let's start learning!

The only way we'll ever have control of our schools again is to ORGANIZE and then throw the Black scum out into the streets.

Students! Support White self-determination in this school. Join the National Socialist Liberation Front, an organization of students for a White America.

WHO IS THIS MAN??

He **LOOKS** *like an American*
He **DRESSES** *like an American*
He **SPEAKS** *the same language as Americans*

But . . .

He hates American sovereignty and independence.
He hates the Christian religion.
He promotes Communism and revolution in our cities.
He blackmails Americans into buying their "bonds."
He maintains dual citizenship in this and their mother country.
He awaits the coming of their Messiah to rule over all others.

HE AWAITS THE DAY WHEN A FOREIGN POWER "TAKES OVER" AMERICA

Who Is This Man??

HE IS A JEW!

DON'T TRUST HIM!!

AMERICAN CHRISTIAN PARTY

Questions for Discussion

1. How many of Lowenthal and Guterman's characteristics can you find in these examples of propaganda?
2. With what statements in the posters do you disagree? Agree?
3. Some people would argue that pamphlets like these should not be allowed to circulate. How do you feel?
4. Describe the type of person who might believe and follow the ideas presented in these articles.
5. Are there any non-White groups who express hard-core prejudices?

Definitions

ethnocentrism—the attitude of considering one's group and culture to be superior to others, and judging other cultures by the standards of the group to which we belong

xenophobia—fear or hatred of strangers and foreigners

Word Game

Stephen Stills

In this song, Stephen Stills comments on the origins of prejudice and how it affects human behavior. The song expresses much anger and frustration at the hypocrisy and hate of people with prejudices. Yet, Stills ends with a defiant faith in the ability of young people to overcome the prejudices of their elders. But recent studies have concluded that young people today hold very deep prejudices about each other.

Would you knock a man down
If you don't like the cut of his clothes
Could you put a man away
If you don't want to hear what he knows
Well it's happening right here
People dying of fear by the droves
And I know most of you
Either don't believe it's true
Or else you don't know what to do
Or maybe I'm singing about you
Who knows

It's incredibly sick
You can feel it
As across the land it flows
Prejudice is slick
When it's a word game
It festers and grows
Move along quick
It furthers one to have somewhere to go
You can feel it as its rumblin'
Let emotions keep a tumblin'
Then as cities start to crumblin'
Mostly empty bellies grumblin'
Here we go

People see somebody different
Fear is the first reaction shown
Then they think they've got him licked
The barbaric hunt begins
And they move in slow
A human spirit is devoured
The remains left to carrion crow
I was told that life is change
And yet history remains
Does it always stay the same
Do we shrug it off and say
Only God knows

By and by somebody usually goes
Down to the ghetto
Try and help but they don't know why
Folks treat them cold
And the rich keep getting richer
And the rest of us just keep getting old
You see one must have a mission
In order to be a good Christian
If you don't you will be missing
High Mass or the evening show

And the well-fed masters reap
The harvests of the polluted seeds they've sown
Smug and self-righteous
They bitch about people they owe
And you can't prove them wrong
They're so God damn sure they know
I have seen these things
With my very own eyes
And defended my battered soul

It must be too tough to die
American propaganda, South African lies
Will not force me to take up arms
That's my enemy's pride
And I won't fight by his rules
That's foolishness besides

His ignorance is gonna do him in
And nobody's gonna cry
Because his children they are growing up
And plainly tired of putting up
With bigots and their silver cups
They're fed up, they might throw up on you

Questions for Discussion

1. How does fear relate to prejudice?
2. Is it possible to be a good Christian and still have prejudices?
3. Do you agree that young people will be less prejudiced than their elders? Why?

Definitions

carrion—dead and decaying flesh, unfit for food.
ghetto—a quarter of the city in which members of a minority live, originally restricted to Jews.

A Hatemonger Sells Himself to Michigan

Joyce Wadler

After some years of decline in the 1960s, there has been a resurgence of interest in hate groups such as the Ku Klux Klan and other neo-Nazi groups in America. Such groups are now claiming higher membership and are trying to attract a broader segment of society. There have also been increased attempts by such groups to seek public office. For example, J. B. Stoner ran for the Senate in Georgia in 1980. Harold Covington, a Nazi who called racism "the highest form of patriotism," received 56,000 votes in the Republican primary election for state attorney general in North Carolina.

In 1980 government "unawareness" was manifested when a man who served as General Counsel for the Liberty Lobby, a right-wing, anti-Black, anti-Semitic organization, from 1969 to 1973, was nominated for a top Health and Human Services post in the new Republican administration in 1981. Those who nominated him said they had no idea as to the "true nature" of the Liberty Lobby. Pressure was made to bear on those who nominated him. When the newspapers exposed the man's background, his name was withdrawn from nomination.

In Michigan, Gerald R. Carlson, associated at times with the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis, won the Republican primary in the 15th Congressional District in a Detroit suburb. Running on a platform to support a Constitutional amendment to ban busing, repeal open housing and affirmative action, Carlson took advantage of a growing conservatism in the United States. The following newspaper account is by Joyce Wadler.

Dearborn Heights, Mich.—As is not unusual in the case of great public embarrassment, the citizens of Dearborn Heights would prefer to play down the Aug. 5 victory of Gerald R. Carlson, the Republican nominee in the 15th Congressional District in this Detroit suburb.

There's a reason for their distaste: Gerald Carlson is a white supremacist and former Nazi.

"A jerk," say the Republicans, who hasten to add that Carlson is not really one of them—he just claimed to be for purposes of the primary. "A vote in ignorance" is how the Dearborn Heights police characterize Carlson's victory.

Few people feel Carlson has a chance Nov. 4 against the Democratic incumbent of 16 years, Rep. William D. Ford. Even so, Republican leaders, having failed in attempts to get Carlson off the ballot, plan a write-in campaign for their defeated primary favorite, Woodhaven public safety commissioner James Caygill.

That anyone could knowingly vote for Carlson is beyond their comprehension, and with good reason, for Carlson's campaign in this blue-collar suburb, where unemployment just hit 18 percent, has been unusually virulent.

For nine months, he operated a "White Power Hotline," a series of phone messages in which he told whites to drive blacks from their neighborhoods and said that blacks—being lazy—were responsible for lowered automobile production and the recession. For weeks before this month's primary he operated a shadow campaign—no headquarters, an unlisted phone, just leaflets and fliers handed out in the street.

He copied publicity shots of the local police that appeared in newspapers for National Auto Theft Week and ran them in his own newsletter, distorting the facts: "Crack Troops Ready To Defend Dearborn's Border Against All Outsiders." He said in his campaign leaflet that "the biggest problem our country has is the exploitation and oppression of the white majority."

Nevertheless, when the primary results were in, Caygill, the official Republican, won 3,037 votes to Carlson's 3,715. Voters perhaps had shown privately what they might deny publicly: that Carlson was their man.

Think Nazi, or Ku Klux Klansman, or John Bircher, all of which Carlson has at various times been, and chances are the image you'll come up with will not be Carlson's. He's too smooth to fit the stereotype.

His debating style, while wary, is aloof and amused. He lunches on cottage cheese and milk. In conversation, he refers to Arnold Toynbee and William Shockley. There is even an occasional, though rare, touch of wit. Could that have been a jar of hair cream one saw him disappear with before the photographer arrived? Aaah, yes, the candidate concedes: "I have such fine Aryan hair."

He says this in a borrowed house in Dearborn Heights, the home of friends. His own home—even the address of his home—is off-limits, he says. He is an evasive man: sometime electrician, sometime student, one-time Air Force linguist. He says he now makes a living as a private detective. For whom? He will not say. Neither does he care to be precise about his politics.

Ask him what he means when he says vaguely that he was "associated" with the Nazis (he was, though he doesn't like to admit it, an active member for several months), and he'll attack, wondering why the media always pursue "the sensational." Ask him what he means when he says blacks "just are not schooled to keep up a type of lifestyle in the same level of white people" and he'll try intellectual intimidation.

"I would just have to heighten my diction level or terminology," he says grandly, and then: "They just don't keep their places up or they let them run down."

This is the basis of Carlson's philosophy, which he attempts to bolster with quotations from scientists and historians: that blacks—supported by "liberal radical communists"—are "the cause of the economic and social breakdown of the country."

He says he believes many people see this, but are afraid to go public because of the "liberal-dominated press"—"the intimidation of the masses," as de Tocqueville said. Carlson sees it as his job to "educate" the people who don't understand his philosophy, who "see the extent of the problem and are awed by the expanse."

Carlson is vague on solutions. He buys time saying that there are three steps to problem solving—perceiving the problem, committing yourself to the problem and deciding what to do about the problem. He would say he is now at stage two. If elected, he says finally, he would support a constitutional amendment to ban busing and would "take steps to repeal affirmative action as well as open housing."

His old "White Power Hotline," with its anti-black messages, is part of his long-range campaign plans, he says, but he refuses to play the tapes. He says he's already sticking his neck out by talking to the news media, "which is very radically, liberally oriented," particularly the Washington Post, which he says is comprised entirely of Jews. For another thing, the tapes "might anger people for whom things haven't . . . gotten bad enough"; some of those messages, one has to understand, were "highly dramatized."

He allows a little smile. "Dramatized," he says slowly. "Some, I would even say, were very creative."

He describes a favorite.

"We had a case, here in Detroit, with a Negro whose eyes got bigger than his stomach. He was working for the government and he took off with more than a million dollars. Then he checked himself into a psychiatric clinic in Ferndale. I said the man was suffering from a disease called 'Negro-itis', the inability of the Negro to function responsibly in positions in a white society. Then every time we had another incident, I'd say, 'Looks like we have another case of Negro-itis here.'

"Got so people were really looking forward to it."

While serving in the Air Force, Carlson lived in Europe. He came back to the States and went to college on the G.I. Bill, graduating with a bachelor's degree in political science from the University of Michigan in 1975. He spent several months, although he likes to downplay it, in the Nazis, the Klan, John Birch Society, and states' rights organizations.

His political consciousness, he says, began while he lived in "clean and orderly European cities and realized that Negroes are the main cause of our disintegration."

There were very few blacks in his Air Force unit, he says, because "they did not qualify on the intelligence tests." He suspects that the reason any were there was that there was "some sort of quota."

There was one black he considered his intellectual equal, who was even a friend, but Carlson has a ready explanation.

"I'm certain he was at least half-white," he says. ". . . we went canoeing once and he got a sunburn . . ."

Questions for Discussion

1. John W. Hinckley, the person accused of an attempted assassination of President Reagan in 1981, was a member of a neo-Nazi group for a period of time. How popular do you think such groups are?
2. Should Nazis or Klansmen be allowed on the ballot?
3. Do you think most of the people who voted for them were aware of their Klan or Nazi involvement?
4. Why do you think people voted for them?
5. If these candidates were for improving the economy, cleaning the cities, helping the elderly—and also for their Nazi or Klan program, who do you think might vote for them? Why?
6. What do you think is meant by the "true nature" of the Liberty Lobby?
7. Why was there objection to having this man serve in the government?
8. To what extent should people be held accountable for their past associations?

Ecidujerp, Prejudice

Irene Gersten and Betsy Bliss

Prejudice is an attitude, a rigid emotional response toward all members of a particular group or social category. It is generally an unfavorable opinion formed before the facts are known, which results in hatred or intolerance.

In this selection, authors Irene Gersten and Betsy Bliss explain the meaning of prejudice. Careful attention is given to distinguishing the differences that exist between various types of prejudice. As indicated by the authors, prejudice can be motivated by, among other reasons, economic interest, conforming to group expectations, and/or the difficulty people have in accepting their own weaknesses.

Prejudice can be expressed in a variety of ways such as antilocution (bad-mouthing), avoidance, discrimination, physical attack, and genocide. As the worst expression of hate, genocide represents the systematic murder of an entire people because they belong to a specific nation, race, or religion.

Prejudice and Ignorance

Suppose that you had never met an old person. Suppose that your friends told you that "all old people are crazy." Would you believe them? You might—if you had never known an old person. That is what happens when we insist on knowing only people just like ourselves.

This kind of prejudice is really *ignorant*—prejudice due to not knowing better. It is expressed by many people who keep themselves separate and do not mix with other groups.

Ignorant prejudice was what those white residents felt when the black families began to move into their neighborhood. But when they were actually living next door to one another, they started to look at their black neighbors as individuals and to see that they were not noisy or troublemakers, but were honest, warm, hardworking people, very much like themselves.

Real Prejudice

It is important to remember that there is a difference between ignorance and prejudice. Ignorance means forming opinion without really knowing the facts. The prejudice that often results from ignorance does not necessarily mean hateful feelings.

Real prejudice, on the other hand, occurs when we choose to keep bad opinions even when we have a chance to know better. Prejudice occurs when a person refuses to change his mind—even when the facts show him that he is wrong.

Mark is an example of a person with real prejudice.

When Mark was young, all of his friends and classmates told him that all black people were "lazy" and "dirty," Mark took their word for it.

He believed them because he had never seen a person with dark skin. There were no black people in his school, his neighborhood, or his Boy Scout troop. When he went to the movies, he hardly ever saw black people in films. Those that he did see were shown as "lazy" and "dirty." The same was true on television. Mark was a very protected person who had little touch with the world outside of his own group.

As Mark grew older and left his neighborhood, he began to see some people with dark skin. But they seemed so different from him. They looked different. They dressed differently and they even talked differently. Mark stayed away from them because they were strange and he was afraid of them. Mark covered his fear by saying that "they" were "dirty" and "lazy."

When Mark entered high school, he met Jeff, who was black. Jeff was in most of his classes and Mark was forced to see that Jeff was neat, well-dressed, and very hardworking. But Mark refused to change his bad opinions of all dark-skinned people. Even though he knew Jeff to be much like himself, his prejudice would not allow him to see Jeff as a complete individual. Mark could not see beyond Jeff's dark skin. He said to himself, "Jeff is different from other blacks. It is still true that all those people are 'dirty and "lazy.' " Mark simply could not see that "all those people" are individuals just like Jeff.

Prejudice and Profit

Why do Mark and people like him refuse to give up their prejudices even when the facts show them to be wrong? Why do people prejudge others in the first place? Why has man, for as long as we can remember, been cruel to his fellow man? Why is prejudice as much a problem today as it was four hundred years ago?

To answer these questions isn't easy. Mostly, we act in a prejudiced manner because we expect to gain something.

Each individual is a complex being, with many different needs, desires, and goals. And though people are guilty of prejudice because they believe they will gain something, what it is that they want to gain is different in almost every case. . . .

Conforming Prejudice

A very common type of prejudice comes from our need to have the same values as the group to which we belong. We tend to feel safe within our own group. It makes us feel important. To know we will be accepted by that group, we adopt the group's thinking. When the group thinking is prejudiced, we often accept this thinking because we are afraid to go against the group.

A college student recently wrote about an example of this kind of prejudice. It occurred on his first day of high school. He had been talking with a boy of his own age when one of the older students came over to him and said, "Don't you know that Harry is a Jew?" He had never before met a Jew and really didn't care whether or not Harry, whom he had started to like, was a Jew. But he admitted that the tone of the older boy's voice was enough to convince him that he had better not make Harry his friend.

When we act in this way, we are clearly in the wrong. There is nothing wrong in wanting to belong to a certain group because we want to feel a part of something. We all need friends and want to feel safe and needed. But there is something terribly wrong when we become a part of the group and are no longer an individual. By giving up what is special in each of us, we can no longer act or think on our own. We become a group body. We are afraid to make a step on our own two feet. We act in a prejudiced way not because we believe the others are not as good as we are, but because we are afraid of being "different" and of having opinions different from those of our friends, classmates, and family.

Scapegoating

There is one kind of prejudice that occurs when we want to go along with the opinions of our friends. There is a more dangerous kind of prejudice that stems from feeling unsure about ourselves and from the questions we have about our own worth as individuals. It is called scapegoating.

It is part of human nature for people to compare themselves with one another. It is part of our society for individuals to compete with one another for money and personal rewards. Often our feeling of being not as good, as attractive, as wealthy, as skilled, or as successful as others makes us need to blame someone else for our own shortcomings.

It is difficult for people to accept their own weaknesses. It is much easier to blame our problems on others. When we look down on someone else, we seem so much taller.

The word "scapegoating" comes from Biblical times. Then a scapegoat was let loose in the wilderness after the high priest had placed the sins of the people on its head. All of the failures, the shortcomings, and the shameful things that the people were guilty of were put onto the goat. Sending the goat out into the woods was the people's way of separating themselves from their guilt. They were no longer responsible for their own actions. Today we use the word scapegoat to describe a person or a group of people who are blamed unfairly.

Scapegoating is in many ways like labeling. Both are lazy ways of thinking. Both can prevent a person from seeing himself as he really is. When we put people into groups, we hide ourselves or other people behind name tags. We see only a part of what people really are, not the whole picture.

Our world is full of people like Mr. Jones.

Mr. Jones is very upset about what is happening in this country. Mr. Jones says, "The reason we have riots is that there are outsiders in this *country.*" He adds, "*If we could only get rid of the* outsiders, everything would be fine."

Riots, like most problems, have many causes. Solutions are hard to find and Mr. Jones doesn't want to bother to find out what all of the causes are. It is much easier to find someone to blame, to find a scapegoat. For Mr. Jones, "outsiders" are handy scapegoats.

It is usually easy to recognize the Mr. Joneses of the world. They are the people who can say, "If only we didn't have so-and-so, everything would be okay." These persons will find one enemy to explain everything that is wrong. "If only we didn't have Jews—" or "If only we didn't have hippies—."

But nothing is that simple.

Prejudiced people who scapegoat say the same things about all groups that are different from their own. No matter who the prejudiced person is blaming, that "enemy" is "lazy" and "dirty" and "dangerous." The prejudiced person warns everyone against "marrying those people" or "getting close to those people" or "believing anything those people say." You can substitute almost any kind of human being for "those people," but the prejudiced person's remark and warnings will be the same.

That is because the scapegoater does not hate any one person in particular. He hates a "group that is different," and his hatred covers all the *members of that group.*

Defending Prejudice

When people say the kinds of things that Mark, for example, said about Jeff, they do not always know that they are guilty of prejudice. Most prejudiced people try to hide their true fears from themselves as well as from others. These people feel good only when they believe that there are others who are not quite as good as they are.

Practically nobody will admit to being prejudiced. Practically everybody agrees that prejudice is cruel and ugly. That is why people have been forced to defend their prejudice. And that is why their defenses have been pretty strange!

In the nineteenth century, for example, many people tried to use a religious excuse to cover their prejudice. They said that slavery was a way of introducing the Christian religion to the Africans, who had their own, different religion. It was obvious to the majority of people that this was not a very good excuse, and so many people tried to find a better one. These people turned to the idea that some people were born better than others—smarter, nicer-looking, with better manners, and more honest.

Today we know that this is completely untrue. Today we know that, any way you look at it, there is no excuse good enough to defend prejudice.

Questions for Discussion

1. How might a person go through life learning prejudice?
2. Why is real prejudice harder to deal with than ignorant prejudice?
3. Some people hold that prejudice is an essential element of maintaining self-esteem. Others, like Professor Gordon Allport, have argued that prejudice may be the result of deprivation and frustration which create hostile impulses that are then displaced upon a logically irrelevant victim. Based upon this article, how do you react to these ideas?

Definitions

real prejudice—keeping one's prejudice even after the facts are known
scapegoating—placing undeserving blame on a person or group.

Religious and Racial Anti-Semitism

Milton Meltzer

The history of the Jewish people has been marked by both accomplishment and persecution. Jews have always grappled with the problem of how to maintain their identity while living in diverse larger cultures. There is much to learn in understanding why Jews have been the subject of so much historic prejudice.

Christian anti-Semitism, which is almost as old as Christianity, stems from the refusal of Jews to accept Jesus as the Messiah and from the accusation that the Jews killed Christ. In recent times, many Church bodies have stressed that guilt for the death of Jesus is to be borne by all humanity and that Jesus willingly gave his life. In addition, many Christian scholars such as Franklin Littell and Roy Eckardt have charged that the Gospels, especially the Book of John, helped to develop the idea that the Jews killed Christ. John wrote at a time of tension between Jewish and Christian communities, when the young Church wanted to improve its relations with the ruling Roman empire. By the fourth century, Judaism became an unacceptable faith in the expanding Christian world. By the nineteenth century, anti-Semitism became a tool of the growing nationalist movements. From there it was a short step to racist anti-Semitism which described Jews as being racially inferior, unable to be "cured" by simple conversion to Christianity.

A knowledge of historic relations and tensions between the Jews and Christianity is important for an understanding of the Holocaust. The following selection by Milton Meltzer provides an overview of these relations since the time of Jesus.

Jude verrecke . . . Jew perish . . .

How did it come to that? And why in Germany?

Germany is the country where modern anti-Semitism of the racist kind began. The term itself, "anti-Semitism," was first used only a few years before Hitler was born. But the roots of anti-Semitism go much farther back in history. The religious basis for it in the Christian world is the accusation (it appears in the Gospels) that the Jews were to blame for the crucifixion of Jesus. "Christ-killer" became a synonym for Jew. The anti-Semites took that charge as sanction for the persecution of the Jews.

In the early fourth century, Constantine the Great made Christianity the state religion of the Byzantine Empire. The Church insisted that Christianity was the true religion, the only religion, and demanded the conversion of the Jews. When the Jews would not easily give up their faith, the Church used the power of the State to make them outcasts. They were denied citizenship and its rights. By the end of the century, Jews were viewed as devils, cursed by God.

A popular and enduring hatred of the Jews built up. If Jews suffered misfortune, it was only divine punishment for Christ's crucifixion. But the punishment was not left to God alone. Both Church and State took legislative steps—later imitated in Hitler's edicts—to ensure Jewish misery. Among them were decrees that made it impossible for Jews to farm the land or to engage in the crafts. Trade was almost the only choice left, and many Jews became merchants, working with and through other Jews scattered throughout the world.

As the economy of the medieval world developed, the Church lifted the restrictions it had placed on commercial activity, and Christians replaced Jews. The Church still forbade Christians to receive interest on loans, so the Jews provided the service of banking. But when banking profits became attractive, the Church eased its restrictions, and Christians then competed with Jews in finance, too. Yet, even as Christians took over the same financial functions, they libeled the Jews as avaricious and heartless—the image perpetuated by Shakespeare's Shylock.

The launching of the Crusades in 1096 marked the beginning of an oppression that for duration and intensity would be unmatched until Hitler's time. The hordes of nobles, knights, monks, and peasants who set off to free the Holy Land from the Moslem infidels began their bloody work with "the infidels at home"—the Jews. Offering the choice of baptism or death, the Crusaders slaughtered Jews on a stunning scale. Those Jews who refused baptism and sacrificed themselves "to sanctify the Name of God" became martyrs who set an example of heroism for centuries to come. What had been done in the name of Christianity made very few in the Church feel regret when the fury ended. Nested in the popular mind was the conviction that such atrocities must have been deserved. Piety became a convenient excuse for plunder.

To make the Jew an ever easier target for mobs hunting down the "Christ-killer," the Church's Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 required Jews to wear a distinctive badge on their clothing. Now no Jews could escape humiliation. As public pariahs, they were blamed for everything that went wrong. "The guilty Jews"—the words were inseparable. Expulsion or extermination seemed to be the Jews' fate. What delayed their elimination was their usefulness. While their money could be diverted into the treasuries of king and noble, they were tolerated. When that value was gone, they were expelled. In England it happened in 1290, in France in 1306, in Spain in 1492.

It was in these centuries that Europe began moving from the medieval into the modern world. Epochal changes were taking place in economic, political, cultural, and religious life. But the mass of Jews remained cut off from the mainstream and isolated. They were compelled to live behind ghetto walls. A new humanism induced more tolerance, but not for the Jews. Persecution continued, followed often by expulsion.

The Jews of Spain and Portugal fled into Turkey, the Balkans, Palestine, northern Italy, and Holland. Some migrated to the New World, settling in Brazil and the West Indies, and soon in North America, too. The Jews of Germany made new homes in Eastern Europe. The Polish rulers welcomed them because they needed Jewish enterprise. Jews were allowed to become traders and financiers.

The flow east was heightened by the founding of Martin Luther's new faith in the sixteenth century. In his youth, Luther had been a champion of the Jews. When he failed to win them to Protestantism, he raged at them in a language that exceeded even Hitler's for violence. He renewed all the old charges—the Jews were poisoners, ritual murderers, usurers, parasites, devils. He called for the burning of their synagogues, the seizure of their books, and their expulsion from all of Germany. (Centuries later, Hitler would find it helpful to circulate Luther's anti-Jewish writings in mass editions.)

New ideas about the rights of the common man emerged later, as the Industrial Revolution developed in Western Europe. A struggle for civil emancipation began. By then there were numbers of middle-class Jews eager to break free of the ghetto and to share in the civil rights promised by the movement for Enlightenment.

It was Germany's Jews who were the first to be touched by the Enlightenment. Frederick the Great, a despotic ruler and no lover of the Jews, realized that his Prussia could prosper by encouraging enterprising Jews to found new industries and build up commerce. Many Jews seized the opportunity offered and rose to prominence as manufacturers, merchants, and bankers.

Young Jews devoted themslves to modern education so that they could make a mark in Western culture. Cracks appeared in the ghetto walls even before the French Revolution of 1789, and Napoleon's armies finished the job, bearing the banners of freedom wherever they marched. They defeated the Prussians in 1806; and in 1812 Prussia issued the Edict of Emancipation, which made Jews citizens. Jews were to have all the rights of the dominant majority. But not for long. Napoleon's downfall brought powerful reaction in its wake. Emancipation was undone in many places. The ideals of the Enlightenment were drowned in a wave of German nationalism. To be a patriot now meant to be a product of German culture and a Christian. Again the Jew was defined as an outsider. He was viewed as a parasite feeding upon the German body, which could never absorb him. His political rights were cut down or taken away altogether. An endless stream of anti-Semitic books and pamphlets polluted the culture of Germany. Some of the most distinguished intellectuals contributed to it. Feeling against the Jews mounted to the point of violence. The old cry, "Hep, hep, death to the Jews!" echoed again in Germany's streets.

Popular writing dropped all distinctions between the "good" Jew and the "bad" Jew. Even the baptized and assimilated Jew was not spared, for the anti-Semite now condemned *all* Jews. No longer was it a question of religion. It was the Jew's "race," his "blood," that damned him. A Jewish stereotype took shape in widely read novels. The Jew was depicted as puny and cowardly. The ugly features given the Jewish villain were said to be the outward signs of an evil soul.

The Germans built hatred of the Jews into what they considered to be an unchallengeable scientific system. A "theory" of anti-Semitism was created to lend scientific justification to their prejudice. Wilhelm Marr based his theory of anti-Semitism on racial identity. He said that Jews, or Semites, had an inborn character that made them a "slave race," while the Germans, or Aryans, were the "master race." The Jews couldn't help being morally and physically inferior because Nature had predetermined that. The lucky Aryans (he meant the Teutonic or Nordic peoples, such as the Germans, Austrians, Scandinavians, Dutch, English, and French) were by the same token born to be superior. The Aryans were the jewel of the world. Everything great and good was said to be the creation of this "master race.". . .

The smashing victory over the French in the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 made many Germans feel they truly belonged to a "master race." And when Otto von Bismarck's policy of "blood and iron" succeeded in molding the petty states into the German Empire in 1871, it intensified that feeling of superiority. Chancellor Bismarck proclaimed the State's highest duty was to increase its own power. Germany's destiny was to conquer the world; "lesser" peoples had to be subdued.

Militarism and the doctrine of "blood and iron" became the dominant forces in German life. Under Bismarck's leadership, the educated classes turned away from rationalism and liberalism. A new kind of pseudo-scholarship, useful to politicians who prosper on myths, held sway. Two foreign writers, the Frenchman Arthur de Gobineau and the Englishman Houston Stewart Chamberlain, contributed props for the myth of racial superiority. De Gobineau held that the Jews were a "mongrel race." Chamberlain wrote that "The Jewish race is altogether bastardized, and its existence is a crime against the holy laws of life." Both men won vast audiences in Germany by singing the praises of the "Aryan race."

Politicians began to draw upon the power of anti-Semitism for their propaganda arsenal. In 1878 speakers for a Christian Social Workers' party fired up mass meetings by blaming Jews for business failures and profiteering. The party leader, Dr. Adolf Stöcker (court preacher to the Kaiser), coined the slogan *"Deutschland erwache!"*; Hitler would borrow it later. And as Hitler would, Stöcker directed his appeal to the lower middle classes—artisans, shopkeepers, clerks, petty officials—who yearned for better incomes and higher social status. In 1879 Wilhelm Marr founded the League of Anti-Semitism "to save the German fatherland from complete Judaization." A year later the anti-Semites were able to secure 300,000 signatures to a petition demanding that the government bar the Jews from all schools and universities and from holding public office.

By 1893 candidates of anti-Semitic political parties were able to muster 400,000 votes and elect many deputies to the Reichstag. A new slogan—"The Jews Are Our Misfortune"—appeared in print and on banners. Another philosopher, the anarchist Eugene Dühring, stepped forth to sound the final note in anti-Semitism. The Jews, he wrote, are "inferior and depraved.. . . The duty of the Nordic peoples is to exterminate such parasitic races as we exterminate snakes and beasts of prey."

His was a paranoid image of the Jew as the universal enemy. Entrenched as an article of German faith, it would have the destructive power of an atomic arsenal when Hitler triggered it.

Questions for Discussion

1. Many people feel that a crucial part of growth is our response to uncomfortable new knowledge about things we cherish. How do you respond to the charge that organized Christianity might have played a major role in the historic mistreatment of Jews?
2. How did Constantine's decision to make Christianity a "state religion" affect attitudes toward Jews?
3. How could Jews avoid being killed during the Crusades?
4. How much do you think contemporary Jews and Christians know about each other's faith? How does this affect the relationship between Jews and Christians?
5. How was the Jew perceived in nineteenth-century Germany?
6. During the last few years, there has been a dramatic worldwide increase in acts of terror against Jews. Synagogues in Paris and in Vienna have been bombed and people murdered. And there are many examples of vandalism. Even in the United States, the number of anti-Jewish acts of desecrations of synagogues and cemeteries, has increased. Why?

Definition

avaricious—greedy.

The Forgotten Genocide

According to Professor Arnold Toynbee, "the Armenians are perhaps one of the oldest established civilized groups in western Asia." The Armenian Kingdom was the first state in the world to embrace Christianity. Located in the rugged mountain region in eastern Turkey which now spreads across the Soviet boundary, the Armenian minority later became a Christian island in a Moslem state.

In the nineteenth century, the once great Ottoman Empire was in severe decline. When Abdul Hamid became the ruler of the Ottoman Empire in 1876, the Armenians became the target of growing Muslim nationalism. Sultan Abdul Hamid said, "The way to get rid of the Armenian question is to get rid of the Armenians." Throughout his reign, he encouraged Moslem brutality and the further isolation of the Armenians. The first "organized" massacres of Armenians took place in 1895.

During the first world war, Turkey fought on the side of the Germans and against Russia. Some Moslems felt that the Armenians were acting as traitors and supporting the Russians. Ultimately, Talaat Pasha, the Turkish Minister of Interior, decided to end the "Armenian problem" once and for all. By forced marches, starving, and execution, as many as one million Armenians were murdered within a few years.

The following selections include both a personal memoir and a historical overview of this forgotten genocide. In the first reading, Kerop Bedoukian recalls his own experience as a child on a forced march through the Turkish desert. The selection from Michael Arlen's *Passage to Ararat* focuses on the process and the rationalization for the murder of the Armenians.

Armenians and many others rightfully call for us to remember what happened in Turkey. That nation has never had to take moral responsibility for its actions in the Armenian genocide. Nor should it be forgotten that Armenian suffering was largely met with world silence. Ironically, it was Germany that provided Turkey with the equipment and transport that helped carry out the murder process. Years later, in 1939, on the eve of another genocide, Adolf Hitler would say confidently, "Who, after all, speaks today of the annihilation of the Armenians? The world believes in success alone."

Some of Us Survived

Kerop Bedoukian

In Armenian we call the river Euphrates Yeprad Ked, and it is supposed to start in the heart of old Armenia. The river was in sight during our march, but we did not get closer to it than a mile. People were boiling in the sun, their lips cracked, their tongues hanging out; yet they walked on. They dropped on their knees, they took a breath, and then got up to walk farther still. I could watch only those just ahead of me. Dusty, ragged, exhausted, starved; yet they walked on. Will-less, emotionless, stunned by the loss of loved ones and waiting for their turn to die; but still they walked. There was no fear of dying, but to be taken away by the Turks struck horror in them. Turks in this district were more fanatical, more cruel, even more relentless in their enjoyment of watching people tortured.

Early one evening, the caravan veered toward the river. As there was no opposition, the march speeded up, then it became a stampede, a pitiful stampede. Nobody could run, they had no strength, but they broke rank and moved on. I would say that there were about five hundred of us, all jamming the shore and dropping into the water. Some swam too far out and drowned. Some just swam to drown. It looked like mass suicide, though probably no more than twenty died this way. No one so much as raised a voice to stop the suicides. Were those who drowned friendless, or did their people just not care? I couldn't tell. There was no acknowledgment of their deaths, nobody mourning. It was considered better to die than to serve a Turk as a concubine. Anyway, drowning in the river was easier than jumping into a well. All the wells on the route were filled to the top with bodies of girls and young women. Once a young cousin of mine asked my mother's permission to throw herself into a well. . . . Some time later she came back and said there was no water in the well; it was filled with bodies. Days later this same girl was being forced to go with an elderly Turk. She begged my mother for help. My mother told her to hold back her urine and let go when the Turk tried to rape her. The girl came back the next morning, and according to her story, she was still a virgin.

The news was that we were to cross the Euphrates, which was more than a mile wide. It would have been exciting if this news had not been followed by a rumor that the flat barges which were to carry us across the river had false bottoms that opened in mid-stream and dumped their contents into the water. Another rumor was that we were not to cross the river but would float downstream to a place called Deir el Zor. This was to be the end of the line for everybody. Everybody would be killed in the valley of Deir el Zor. This was a known fact. But when you have two rumors, the chances are you won't believe either, and that is exactly what I did. . . .

We spent two uncomfortable days by the Euphrates. People tried to live; they bathed, they washed their clothes, they drank water. But the fear of being molested was ever present. One elderly cousin, who had lost her two children, told my mother she was going to throw herself into the river. I followed her to see if she meant it. Her firm walk slowed down when she approached the water; she was hardly moving when she was waist-deep; and when the water was up to her neck, she came to a complete stop, gazing across the river. After a few minutes in that position, she returned to my mother and said she couldn't do it.

I was watchful, both for my own safety and because of the cruelties around me. At one place, half a dozen young Turks were molesting a young girl. This girl was about eighteen; her clothing was ripped down to her waist, exposing white skin in contrast to her face, camouflaged with dirt. The Turkish boys were trying to bare her breasts and she was resisting with all her might. Her efforts proved useless; two of the boys held her arms while the others tore off everything that she had on. The boys holding her arms let go and she dropped to her knees, covering her breasts with her arms. Then they ordered her to get up and dance. When she made no move, they threw stones at her. She made a move, then hesitated, unable to defend herself and to cover her shame both at the same time. The Turks tried to help her decide by taking better aim as well as coaxing her to stand up. She did get to her feet, but she did not straighten up completely. She held her legs tight together, her arms over her chest, and her body slightly bent over.

The Turks kept ordering "Dance! dance!" but all she did was take a few steps back. This angered the young men, especially one, who began to throw stones with more force. This made her retreat. She turned and, half walking, half running, and still partly bent, went toward the river. The Turks did not stop throwing stones, but most of them missed as the distance increased. They took their time, spread out in a semicircle and closed in on her; by this time she was waist-deep in the water. It was obvious that she could not swim. She would not go any farther than the ten yards she had covered, because of the current and the possible sudden drop in the depth. So she stopped there, facing the river, covering herself with her hands, oblivious of the shower of stones reaching her. Then, as though a decision had been made, she gave herself to the current. She was evidently out of her depth now as she bobbed up and down, moving with the slow flow of the water. The Turks followed parallel with her, each taking a turn throwing stones at the still bobbing head. Then it ceased to bob and there was a blotch of black hair floating on the surface of the water. It kept moving away from the shore, and picked up speed with the current as it went downstream.

For the first time that I can remember, I felt hatred. I hated those six young Turks. I hated them for destroying an innocent and beautiful girl. Unable to take any practical action, I longed for a magic wand to compel these men to follow after the girl, to let them know how it feels to drown! . . .

Passage to Ararat

Michael Arlen

Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador to Turkey during the early years of the World War, published his recollections in 1918. From *Ambassador Morgenthau's Story:* "In the early part of 1915, the Armenian soldiers in the Turkish army were reduced to a new status. Up to that time most of them had been combatants, but now they were all stripped of their arms and transformed into workmen . . . road laborers and pack animals. . . . They had to spend practically all their time in the open, sleeping on the bare ground. . . . They were given only scraps of food; if they fell sick they were left where they had dropped. . . .

"Let me relate a single episode which is contained in one of the reports of our consuls and which now forms part of the records of the American State Department. Early in July, 2,000 Armenian *amélés*—such is the Turkish word for soldiers who have been reduced to workmen—were sent from Harpoot to build roads. The Armenians in that town understood what this meant and pleaded with the Government for mercy. But this official insisted that the men were not to be harmed, and he even called upon the German missionary, Mr. Ehemann, to quiet the panic, giving that gentleman his word of honor that the ex-soldiers would be protected. . . . Yet practically every man of these 2,000 was massacred, and his body thrown into a cave. . . . A few days afterward another 2,000 soldiers were sent to Diyarbakir. The only purpose of sending these men out in the open country was that they might be massacred. In order that [they] might have no strength to resist . . . these poor creatures were systematically starved. Government agents went ahead on the road, notifying the Kurds that the caravan was approaching. . . . Not only did the Kurdish tribesmen pour down from the mountains upon this starved and weakened regiment, but the Kurdish women came with butcher's knives in order that they might gain that merit in Allah's eyes that comes from killing a Christian." . . . . "Two missionaries had just called upon me, giving the full details of the frightful happenings at Konia," he wrote. "After listening to their stories, I could not restrain myself, and went immediately to . . . Talaat. . . . I began to talk about the Armenians at Konia. I had hardly started when Talaat's attitude became . . . belligerent. His eyes lighted up, he brought his jaws together, leaned over toward me, and snapped out: 'Are *they* Americans?' In a moment Talaat said . . . 'The Armenians are not to be trusted. Besides, what we do with them does not concern the United States.' "

Morgenthau's *Story* continues: "I find in my diary on August 3d 'that Talaat is the one who desires to crush the poor Armenians.' He told me that the Union and Progress Committee had carefully considered the matter in all its details and that the policy which was being pursued was that which they had officially adopted. . . . 'Why are you so interested in the Armenians, anyway?' he said on another occasion. 'You are a Jew; these people are Christians. The Mohammedans and the Jews always get on harmoniously. We are treating the Jews here all right. What have you to complain of?"

" 'You don't seem to realize,' I replied, 'that I am not here as a Jew but as American Ambassador. . . .'

" 'We treat the Americans all right, too,' said Talaat. 'I don't see why you should complain.' "

Morgenthau had numerous meetings with the Young Turk leaders—especially with Talaat, the Minister of the Interior, whom he regarded as having become the most powerful figure in the government: "I might as well have been talking to a stone wall. . . . 'These people,' he said, 'refused to disarm when we told them to. They opposed us at Van and at Zeitoun, and they helped the Russians. There is only one way in which we can defend ourselves against them in the future, and that is just to deport them.'

" 'Suppose a few Armenians did betray you,' I said. 'Is that a reason for destroying a whole race? Is that an excuse for making innocent women and children suffer?'

" 'Those things are inevitable,' Talaat replied. This remark to me was not quite so illuminating as one which Talaat made subsequently to a reporter of the *Berliner Tageblatt*, who asked him the same question: 'We have been reproached,' he said, according to this interviewer, 'for making no distinction between the innocent Armenians and the guilty; but that was utterly impossible, in view of the fact that those who were innocent today might be guilty tomorrow.' . . .

"It is no use for you to argue,' Talaat answered. 'We have already disposed of three-quarters of the Armenians; there are none at all left in Bitlis, Van, and Erzurum. The hatred between the Turks and the Armenians is now so intense that we have got to finish with them. If we don't they will plan their revenge.' . . .

"Talaat's attitude toward the Armenians was summed up in the proud boast which he made to his friends: 'I have accomplished more toward solving the Armenian problem in three months than Abdul-Hamid accomplished in thirty years!' "

Morgenthau also attempted to put pressure on the Turks through the German Ambassador: "As soon as the early reports [of the massacres] reached Constantinople, it occurred to me that the most feasible way of stopping the outrages would be for the diplomatic representatives of all countries to make a joint appeal to the Ottoman Government.

"I approached Wangenheim on this subject in the latter part of March. His antipathy to the Armenians became immediately apparent. He began denouncing them in unmeasured terms. . . . 'The Armenians,' said Wangenheim, 'have shown themselves in this war to be enemies of the Turks. It is quite apparent that the two peoples can never live together in the same country. The Americans should move some of them to the United States, and we Germans will send some to Poland and in their place send Jewish Poles to the Armenian provinces—that is, if they will promise to drop their Zionist schemes.' . . ."

Throughout most of 1915, the deportations continued. From a multitude of eyewitness reports, it is possible to determine that the first convoys started from the Armenian mountain town of Zeitoun, in Cilicia, on April 8, 1915 (almost two weeks before the allegedly provocative "rebellion" in Van), and thereafter steady streams of deportees were driven from the various Armenian centers of the Ottoman empire south toward the desert. . . .

In the first phase of the over-all process, Armenian men had been drafted into the Turkish Army, then disarmed in the labor battalions and massacred, and the men who remained in the towns and villages had also been disarmed, sometimes imprisoned and tortured, and then either killed by the gendarmes or marched out to be massacred by the Kurds. In the second phase, the remainder of the Armenian population, which meant mostly women and children and older men, had been either packed in cattle cars on the Berlin-Baghdad Railway or driven south on foot across the mountains.

From the Bryce-Toynbee report: "From the moment they left the outskirts of the towns, they [the deportees] were never safe from outrage. The Muslim peasants mobbed and plundered them as they passed through the cultivated lands, and the gendarmes [in charge of the convoys] connived at the peasants' brutality. . . . When they arrived at a village they were exhibited like slaves in a public place . . . and every Muslim inhabitant was allowed to view them and take his choice of them. . . . The gendarmes themselves began to make free with the rest. . . .

"There were still more horrible outrages when they came to the mountains, for here they were met by bands of 'chettis' and Kurds. The 'chettis' were brigands recruited from the public prisons. . . . When these Kurds and 'chettis' waylaid the convoys, the gendarmes always fraternised with them and followed their lead. . . .

"It depended on the whim of the moment whether a Kurd cut a woman down or carried her away into the hills. . . . But while the convoy dwindled, the remnant had always to march on. The cruelty of the gendarmes towards the victims grew greater as their physical sufferings grew more intense. . . . The passage of rivers, and especially of the Euphrates, was always an occasion of wholesale murder. Women and children were driven into the water, and were shot as they struggled. . . .

"The last survivors often struggled into Aleppo naked. . . . [Others] were transported to Aleppo by rail. . . . At Bozanti, the railhead west of Taurus, and again at Osmania, Mamouret, Islohia, and Kotma . . . vast and incredibly foul concentration camps grew up, where the exiles were delayed for months, and died literally by thousands of hunger, exposure, and epidemics."

The third phase began with that remnant of the Armenians which reached Aleppo, for Aleppo was the point upon which all convoys converged, and those few who had survived the deportations that far were soon marched off again, southeast, into the Syrian desert.

From *Armenia and the Near East*, by Fridtjof Nansen, High Commissioner for Refugees under the League of Nations, published in 1928: "At Meskne on the Euphrates, east of Aleppo, where the Armenians were starved to death in one of the great concentration camps, 55,000 people, according to Turkish figures, lie buried. It is estimated that during 1915, 60,000 deportees were sent to Der-el-Zor on the Euphrates; and the majority of them disappeared. On April 15, 1916, 19,000 were sent in four batches to Mosul, three hundred kilometres across the desert; but only 2,500 arrived. . . . Some of the women and girls had been sold to Bedouins on the way; the rest had died of hunger and thirst. In July, 1916, 20,000 were deported to Der-el-Zor; eight weeks later, according to the testimony of a German officer, only a few artisans were left. . . . ."

Thus, it is possible to say, not precisely but with a general respect for accuracy and plausibility, that in the course of the 1915-16 massacres and deportations close to one million Armenians—more than half the Armenian population of Turkey—disappeared; which is to say, were killed, outright by police or soldiers, or by roadside massacres, or by forced marches, or by starvation, or by sickness, or by conditions in the concentration camps.

On August 31, 1915, Talaat Pasha declared to his German allies, *"La question Arménienne n'existe plus."*

Questions for Discussion

1. Why did some Armenians, especially women, throw themselves in the Euphrates?
2. How does the young boy first learn to hate?
3. How does Talaat Pasha explain why the Armenians must be killed? What is his reaction to Ambassador Morgenthau's interest in the Armenians? Is Talaat Pasha right?
4. How do you think Armenians today cope with the events of their history? An episode of the television series "Lou Grant" presented an Armenian girl who wanted to marry a boy of Turkish descent. The girl's guardian was appalled that she could ever consider marrying into a people who had historically been responsible for so much pain among Armenians. How do you feel about this?
5. Today there are Armenian terrorist organizations attempting to force Turkey to accept responsibility—and to make amends—for what the Turks did. These groups have used violence and assassination as their method of persuasion. What do you feel about this?

Definition

Der-el-Zor—a barren region of what is now Syria where Armenians were taken to be murdered.

Conversion or Emigration?
What Would You Do?

The following is based on actual historical accounts.

Emanuel Rutsa's family has lived in Spain for hundreds of years. He has become a successful financier in Seville and is raising a family of four young children.

Spain, now a Catholic state, is in the midst of an Inquisition, an attempt by the Spanish Church to stamp out all heretics. Christians convicted of heresy have been burned at the stake (or, often, have become victims of mob rule). These victims include many Jews who had been forcibly converted but still secretly retained their identity as Jews. In 1492, the state issues its Edict of Expulsion: All Jews who do not convert to Christianity are to be expelled. (There are about 150,000 Jews in Spain at this time.)

Rutsa, as a Jew, must make a difficult choice. He may leave the country and attempt to settle in a part of the world where Jews are permitted. It would mean starting life again in strange surroundings, learning a new language, leaving old friends. And he would not be allowed to take most of his wealth with him. Or he and his family can convert to the Christian faith and become part of the mainstream of Spanish society, maintaining their economic success and position.

Questions for Discussion

1. What should Rutsa do? Are there other options available?
2. Should Rutsa's economic success or his Jewish faith mean more to him?
3. How important is your faith to you? How far would you go to uphold it?

How Were the Indian Tribes Destroyed?
Milton Finkelstein, et al.

The Indians were the first people to inhabit the North American continent. After the first explorers and settlers came to the United States, the Indians were forced from their lands by the westward expansion of white settlers. Within a short time, thousands of settlers began flooding this country, and it became very difficult for the American Indians to prevent those "foreigners" from taking their lands.

Confrontations between the Indians and the settlers led to strong anti-Indian sentiments. Settlers were interested in the Indian lands because of the abundant natural resources that they possessed.

The Indians were often regarded as "savage" or barbarian; many whites saw them as belonging to an inferior race. The use of force, rationalized by prejudice, became useful in dealing with the Indians. Thousands were killed in the name of expansion. Some historians say that a policy of genocide was applied to the American Indian. The following is excerpted from *Minorities, U.S.A.* by Milton Finkelstein, *et al.*

In the year 1500 there were more than a million Indians in the land that became the United States. By 1890, when the murder of Indians came to an end, there were only a little more than 200,000 left. They were killed by frontiersmen, by miners and settlers and chiefly by the United States Army. The Indians fought back as savagely as they could. Hatred between whites and Indians grew so fierce that Americans began to say, and believe, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." Most Americans lived in the East. Newspapers there told daily tales of death caused by Indian attacks. They did not say much about the troubles white men brought to the Indians whose lands they wanted. As late as 1886 Theodore Roosevelt, later President of the United States, used these words in a speech in New York City: "I don't go so far as to think that the only good Indians are the dead Indians, but I believe nine out of every ten are, and I shouldn't like to inquire too closely into the case of the tenth."

The chief problem facing every Indian tribe was to hold the lands it had been promised in its treaties with the United States government. By

1860 most Indian leaders realized that the promises would not be kept. Settlers were pouring across the Mississippi and pushing west. Other white men were pushing east from California.

One by one, the Indian tribes saw settlers, well armed and ready to kill, moving into their lands. They tried to keep the settlers out. The United States Army was supposed to help carry out the treaties that had promised these lands to the tribes. Most often these soldiers helped the settlers who had moved in. Indian agents were placed in charge of the reservations. It was their duty to help the Indians, and to keep out the settlers. Many of them helped themselves instead. They ran trading posts in which Indians were cheated. They kept the supplies the government sent out for the tribes. They did not permit Indians to leave the reservations to hunt for food. . . .

Many of the tribes had guns. They got some of them during the Civil War. They bought others from traders or Indian agents. The Indians had plenty of horses. With them they became great fighting horsemen. One tribe after another came to see that there was little hope. They would soon lose their lands and homes. They met in council and decided to fight back. The fight was also without hope; the large armies of white men sent against them were better armed. The first great Indian massacres came in the Northwest. Settlers in Oregon, Washington and Idaho, with Army aid, wiped out the power of the Indians in the Columbia River valley after 1855. Many of the chiefs were killed. Their people were then placed on small reservations, while white people took their lands.

The best known of the Northwest tribes was the Nez Percés, led by Chief Joseph. In 1863 some Nez Percé chiefs were tricked by government agents and agreed to give up most of the tribe's lands. Chief Joseph and some other chiefs would not accept this new treaty. They *refused* to move their people to the small new reservations set up for them. In 1877 the United States Army went to war against the Nez Percés. The Indians fought their way north from Idaho into northern Montana. A battle took place in the Bear Paw Mountains. The Nez Percés were defeated; most of their chiefs were killed. Chief Joseph decided to surrender. His words at that time help us understand how hopeless the Indian fight had become.

"I am tired of fighting. Our chiefs are killed. . . . The old men are all dead. It is the young men who say yes or no. He who led the young men is dead. It is cold and we have no blankets. The little children are freezing to death. My people, some of them have run away to the hills, and have no blankets, no food; no one knows where they are—perhaps freezing to death. I want to have time to look for my children and see how many I can find. Maybe I shall find them among the dead. Hear me, my chiefs, I am tired; my heart is sick and sad. From where the sun now stands *I will fight no more forever.*"

From Colorado to Minnesota the Cheyenne and Sioux were the most important tribes. . . . In 1864 the Cheyenne came to Sand Creek, Colorado, prepared to make a lasting peace. There, a colonel hoping for glory attacked them About 300 men, women and children were killed. The news of this massacre spread among the Sioux; they decided to go to war. Red Cloud, chief of the Sioux, refused to permit a new trail to be built through his lands. Sioux and Cheyenne fighting men fought the Army for two years. Red Cloud then agreed to place his people on a reservation so that his remaining men would not be killed. A few weeks after Red Cloud signed a peace treaty, Colonel George Custer massacred a Cheyenne tribe in Indian Territory.

. . . The Black Hills of South Dakota had been promised to the Sioux in their peace treaty. But in 1874 gold was discovered in this sacred Indian land. Colonel George Custer became the Army commander in the area. He did not keep the miners out. Soon they were fighting the Indians. Custer's men helped protect the miners. . . .

The United States Government ordered all Indians to move to the agency posts. Those who did not would be considered to be at war with the United States. Army groups were sent out to make all Indians move to the agencies and forts without delay. The Cheyenne and Sioux leaders knew that they would lose their lands once they moved their men out of the hills. The chiefs met and agreed that they had to fight. Chief Sitting Bull made the plans for this last great defense. Chief Crazy Horse, his general, led the Indian armies to war.

Crazy Horse knew the hills and mountains better than the Army did. He gained some victories, even though his men could not match the power of the large Army groups sent against him. One of these victories was the killing of Custer and about 225 of his men in the short battle called "Custer's Last Stand." After this battle the full power of the United States Army was organized to destroy the tribes. Crazy Horse surrendered in 1877. A few months later a soldier killed him. . . .

The Cheyenne were placed on poor reservation land in Indian Territory. They decided to return to their own homes in Montana in 1878. They moved north for months, fighting off the armies of soldiers sent to make them return. When the Army did catch up with them, most of the Cheyenne were massacred. Indian hopes for fair treatment had been crushed again. For the next ten years most Indians suffered on their reservations. The last blow came when their new religion was viewed as a danger by the white men. Then Sitting Bull was murdered in 1890, and the Sioux were massacred at Wounded Knee, South Dakota. The

American Indians had been destroyed as a people.

Helen Hunt Jackson was one of many Americans who were shocked by this genocide. She wrote a book in 1881, *A Century of Dishonor*, in which she described what had been done to the Indians. She reported that there were only about 250,000 Indians still alive. Most were on reservations; a small number were in the few places not yet settled by white men. . . . This was all that remained of a proud people who had once held all the land in the United States!

Questions for Discussion

1. Would you describe the experience of the American Indians as an example of genocide? Some would argue that a policy is not genocide unless it is clearly and systematically stated as a government policy. Did this occur against Indians?
2. In what ways did the American government fail to protect and insure the rights of the Indians?
3. Some Indians have slowly become more a part of white society, while others have been slow to give up Indian values and history. How do you believe American Indians should deal with what has happened to them?

The Voices Are Still

Elie Wiesel is a survivor of the Nazi death camps. He is passionately concerned about preventing future genocides. In the first article, he indicts the world for doing nothing to prevent the Biafran tragedy of the late 1960s. The Ibo tribe was almost totally annihilated in Nigeria after attempting to create its own state.

In the second article, Wiesel discusses the genocide of the Aché Indians in Paraguay. That nation is ruled by dictator General Otto Stroesser, of German descent, who allegedly has opened his country to Nazis such as Joseph Mengele, the notorious doctor at Auschwitz, who sent people to their death. Wiesel asks to what extent might the exiled Nazis be helping the government to commit genocide.

Biafra, the End

Elie Wiesel

Biafra, finished. Since yesterday, radio and newspapers have been saying so over and over again. After thirty-two months of fighting and resistance, the Biafrans have laid down their arms. Their leaders are dead or gone, their heroes defenseless, in chains. The war is over, and so is independence. Now comes the time of eulogies, emotion and easy tears. You will find them sickening, my Biafran friends, and you will be right. You will despise them, and you will be right.

All these statesmen, the high officials and politicians who as recently as yesterday were deaf to your appeals, untouched by your distress, here they are, suddenly offering you their pity. Refuse it; you have no use for it.

Yesterday it was impossible to move them. Your children were starving to death, your sick were snuffed out in silence like shadows in the brush, but government after government invoked principles, offered astute arguments to justify their inertia. International law, secret diplomacy, benevolent neutrality: the whole vocabulary was there. Words. Pious words. Hypocrites.

Today these very same officials claim to be outraged and hasten to send aid. Tell them you do not want it, not any more. Don't allow them to feel self-righteous.

I remember a photograph in a newspaper. Sitting in the middle of a road leading nowhere, a child is looking at me. His emaciated body, with arms and legs intertwined, reminds me of all those other sick, betrayed children, all those other dead children. Eyes, I remember his eyes: huge ravaged eyes, they invited night and death. What good is it to grow up, what is the point of living, since man's path culminates in such misery!

It was in those eyes, the dark wise eyes of an orphan, that I discovered Biafra, with its dimensions of misfortune, fatality and corpses.

So many victims a week, so many wounded a week, so many burned, so many uprooted. Biafra: synonym for horror and tenacity. We admired you, my Biafran friends. Poorly armed, undernourished, you resisted the invaders. But how did you do it, how did you succeed in clinging to your mangled, ailing land? In the beginning we gave you one month. Then three. Then one year. Two years, almost three. And you were still alive and free.

People were astonished. Your dead numbered in the hundreds, then the thousands. But tell me, friends, where did you bury them? I know where: in the eyes of your children.

And we, what have we done for you? Not much. Not enough. A confession of weakness? No, of impotence. . . .

Yes, my Biafran friends, the heartless men, the cynics, the professional liars, the fanciful speakers, they are the ones to be pitied, as are all men lacking imagination. They don't know that in betraying you they have condemned themselves; they will find out one day. One day we shall all find out, and it will be too late—as it is too late for you.

Biafra, finished. And not only Biafra.

Accomplices

Elie Wiesel

I read and reread these documents (collected by the International League of Human Rights), these witness accounts, with a mixture of horror, nausea and shame.

I did not know. Is that an excuse? I have no other. I did not know that this evil existed, that it still existed. I did not know that thirty years after the collapse of the Nazi regime, there are still men and women living under conditions reminiscent of that era. I could not imagine that so close to the United States, with a government supported by our liberal democracies, a dictatorship could apply or tolerate outrages not unlike those the murderous racism inflicted on and fought by my generation.

I read and reread the accounts of the suffering and death of the Aché tribe in Paraguay, and I find there many familiar aspects. Hunted, humiliated men massacred for sheer pleasure; young girls raped and sold; children violated, trampled, killed before their parents' eyes. This cold and violent world, this naked brutality—part of my own memory. On one side the victims, on the other the masters. I shall not forget the killers who entertained themselves by shooting at human targets in the forests, or the men who sang through the night though they knew they would die at dawn. Is it a coincidence that this is taking place in Paraguay? Josef Mengele, Birkenau's Angel of Death, lives there peaceably as a privileged guest. Other notorious Nazis have found shelter there. To what extent are they collaborating with their protectors? How pleased they must be to be able to place their talents and experience at the disposal of another Final Solution.

This is a final solution: the purpose is the moral and physical destruction of an entire tribe—no more, no less. Nobody is meant to survive. Nothing is meant to remain, not even a cry or a tear. An individual is torn from his family, his past; he is deprived of his strength, his dignity, and his memory as well. He is diminished. He is compelled to see himself with the enemy's eyes, thus becoming his own enemy, wishing his own death.

Torture and agony, deculturization, deportation, collective murder—to think that in a member nation of the United Nations it is still possible to confine a group of men in concentration camps, to hunt them legally, like wild animals, before reducing them to slavery, to separate husbands from wives, children from mothers, individuals from their language, religion, rites, songs and tales; that it is possible to inflict on a free and proud tribe the very torments that yesterday, on another continent, were inflicted on another people, mine. These are offenses that should outrage whoever still believes in man and conscience and in a chance for human survival.

But our society chooses not to take notice. Silence everywhere. Rarely mentioned in the press, it is not a subject for discussion at the United Nations or elsewhere. The important voices are still. At one time we may have had the excuse that we did not know. But now that is no longer valid. Now we do know.

And from now on we are responsible. And accomplices.

Questions for Discussion

1. In what ways does the author see nations and people as hypocrites? Why do you think nations are slow to act in cases like the Biafran and Aché tragedies?
2. Should economic and military aid be withdrawn from nations that commit genocide?
3. What parallels does the author draw between the Holocaust and the Aché genocide?
4. According to Wiesel, when do nations become "responsible" for the Aché genocide? How do you react to this view?

Definitions

emaciate—to make abnormally thin
tenacity—holding firmly
reminiscent—recalling
deculturization—to undo the concepts, values, arts, and institutions of a given people

Waiting for the Worms

Roger Waters

With the increased immigration of Asians and Africans, England is facing a growing racism. The British neo-fascist party has grown more vocal. Some rock groups have even commented on and participated in this increased hatred toward the new immigrants. In "Waiting for the Worms," the British rock group Pink Floyd comments on just these feelings. Indeed, there has been a growing interest among other rock groups, especially "punk" artists, in issues of violence, including Holocaust and genocide. This same interest in "shock" might be found in literally the dozens of novels that make use of the Nazis as a sales theme.

What is perhaps more disturbing about this trend is not so much that these "punk" groups encourage genocide, but that they trivialize such events by emptying them of any ethical value. Some critics would suggest this is only a reflection of a larger culture that confronts pain with indifference. Still, there is something disturbing about the present use of the swastika on some album covers intended for teenage consumption.

Ooooh you cannot reach me now
Oooh no matter how you try
Goodbye cruel world it's over
Walk on by
Sitting in a bunker here behind the wall
Waiting for the worms to come
In perfect isolation here behind my wall
Waiting for the worms to come
Waiting to cut out the deadwood
Waiting to clean up the city
Waiting to follow the worms
Waiting to put on a blackshirt
Waiting to weed out the weaklings
Waiting to smash in their windows
And kick in their doors
Waiting for the final solution
To strengthen the strain
Waiting to follow the worms
Waiting to turn on the showers
And fire the ovens
Waiting for the queers and the coons
And the Reds and the Jews
Waiting to follow the worms
Would you like to see Britannia
Rule again my friend
All you have to do is follow the worms
Would you like to send our colored cousins
Home again my friend
All you need to do is follow the worms

Questions for Discussion

1. According to the song, how will the English solve the problem of the new immigrants? What historical example is recalled?
2. Are young people conscious of the "political" nature of the music to which they listen? Can such music reflect and reinforce any social values—or non-values?
3. Why are such groups popular or successful?
4. How does one trivialize an idea or event? Do you believe that the Holocaust is trivialized by having a swastika on a pop album?

Definitions

Blackshirt—member of the Italian Fascist party. Members wore black shirts as part of their uniform
trivialize—to make ordinary or insignificant

Cambodian Genocide

Rod Norland

The recent outcry about mass death in Cambodia has once again made the world conscious of how people can treat one another. The history of what happened in Cambodia requires careful research. Cambodia, until a decade ago, was governed by Prince Sihanouk, who ruled the country as a feudal fiefdom. There was much opposition to his "neutral" government from left-wing groups, such as the Khmer Rouge, the Cambodian Communists. A state of guerrilla war existed, with the Khmer Rouge controlling certain portions of the country. Sihanouk was replaced by the corrupt regime of Lon Nol. In 1970, American troops invaded Cambodia with the intent of killing the Viet Cong, Vietnamese Communists who used Cambodia as a refuge from the war in South Vietnam. That intervention escalated the civil war already going on in Cambodia.

Finally, in 1975, the capital of the country, Phnomh Penh, was captured by the Khmer Rouge. The government of Lon Nol was toppled, to the delight of many Cambodians. Yet, the idealism of those early days quickly came to an end. The new leader, Pol Pot, began killing all who were considered enemies of the Khmer Rouge. Despising Western civilization, Pol Pot had thousands of Cambodians in the cities moved to work camps in the countryside, and had people killed because they were well-educated. Literally millions of people died from mass executions, dysentery, malaria, and starvation.

The tragedy of Cambodia has not ended. The Vietnamese invaded Cambodia and overthrew the Pol Pot government. This was an example of two Communist groups fighting each other. The war left the civilian population to mass starvation. Many Cambodian refugees who moved into Thailand met with exploitation, rape, and murder. Although Thailand was a strong ally of the United States, it did not welcome the incoming Cambodians.

The experience of Cambodia cannot easily be blamed on any one group, as Khmer Rouge, Vietnamese, Thais, and Americans were all involved. Unfortunately, it was the Cambodian people who became pawns of the ideological and material desires of those stronger than themselves.

On the Thai-Cambodian border—A Cambodian refugee was struggling recently to find a way to describe in his own language what life was like in his country during the four years of Pol Pot's rule.

A Cambodian interpreter explained his frustration: "In our language, there are no words to express superlatives. So all he can say is, very very very very very very bad."

Pol Pot's Cambodia ranks with Hitler's extermination of the Jews and Stalin's pogroms in the Soviet Union as one of the worst examples of genocide in modern times. An estimated 3 million Cambodians died during the Pol Pot years, from the fall of Phnom Penh to the communists in 1975 to his ouster by the Vietnamese in 1979.

That is 3 million victims of an original population of 7 million. Nowhere else has a regime succeeded in exterminating more than 40 percent of its own people.

Those figures are based on estimates of the surviving population by the present government of Heng Samrin. Other estimates vary widely. The CIA, for example, estimates that between 1970 and 1979, the Cambodian population was reduced by 22 to 34 percent.

Whatever the numbers, it is difficult now to find a Cambodian who has not lost at least one member of his immediate family—and many members of the extended family so important in Khmer life. But it is easy to find people who are the sole survivors of their extended families.

People from villages of 500 report 300 executions during those years. Mass graves have been found with thousands of skeletons, with so many layers of buried bodies that people searching for gold teeth in skeletal jaws dug five yards down to get to the earliest victims from 1975. Only bodies from that earlier period would have gold teeth, because soon after that, famine became so widespread that people hoarded every scrap of gold to buy food.

When the Khmer Rouge captured Phnom Penh, the capital, on April 17, 1975, there was, in many quarters, jubilation at the end of the corrupt regime of Lon Nol, which had embroiled the country in war on the side of the United States. And there was initial relief that nearly five years of war had ended.

There was little opportunity for euphoria, however. The capital had greatly swollen from 200,000 to more than 2 million people during the war years, and the new regime could not feed them. Instead, one day after liberation, the population was forcibly removed to the countryside, where the vast majority would work as peasants in the ensuing years. This was done in all the other towns and urban areas as well.

The Pol Pot forces earlier had declared that everyone who lived in Lon Nol-controlled areas of the country would be considered prisoners of war once the communists took over, and the "prisoners" were quickly transformed into little more than a slave population. These former city dwellers were known as the People of April 17—named after the date of the fall of Phnom Penh—and were treated far worse than the peasantry.

As time went on, a systematic effort was made to seek out and kill all educated persons. Anyone who had any connection with the previous administration—even such people as schoolteachers—or any connection with Western countries was marked for execution.

Knowledge of a foreign language brought the death penalty; wearing eyeglasses was evidence of a former status as an intellectual, which also meant the death penalty. In some areas, merely being remotely related to a former official, intellectual or technician was cause for death.

All but 60 of the nation's 600 doctors were executed, the Heng Samrin government says; so were virtually all of its Buddhist monks and Catholic priests.

Pursuing a radical agrarian communism, the country's leaders were determined to wipe out all vestiges of contact with the West and modernism. Cars and trucks were destroyed, and the scraps used to make hoes. Schools were abolished. Cities became ghost towns.

Last year, the Vietnamese invaded and drove the Khmer Rouge government and military force into hiding. But continued guerrilla warfare between the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese made the planting and harvesting of Cambodia's vital rice crop almost impossible, directly causing the famine that forced a huge exodus of people to Thailand. Now, recent strikes by the Khmer Rouge deep inside the country, far from their hidden bases on the border, have renewed fears that they may again be able to seriously disrupt the coming rice planting, leading to yet a further round of famine and mass flight from the country.

Military analysts had expected the Vietnamese army in Cambodia to mount a major offensive on the Khmer Rouge strongholds during the dry season that just ended, but it never materialized. Now, a rejuvenated and rested Khmer Rouge has been taking advantage of the wet season, which is a difficult time for travel for Vietnam's large army and mechanized troops.

The leaders of the Khmer Rouge are still the same men whose rule of terror traumatized Cambodia before the Vietnamese invaded—Pol Pot and Khieu Samphan. The latter is the government-in-exile's new prime minister—an apparent attempt at improving the Khmer Rouge's image—but Pol Pot, whose name during his reign as premier became synonymous with mass murder, is still very much in control and holds the title of military commander. Pol Pot's headquarters were last reported about 30 miles south of the northern Cambodia border at a point due south of the Thai town of Surin.

Mian Samit, 29, was a dressmaker whose extended family numbered 36 before the fall of Phnom Penh. Twenty family members were killed and the rest either are missing or have fled the country.

On a sheet of paper, she listed the reasons given for the executions of her relatives:

Lueng Thue, Lon Nol officer; Nai Hui, U.S. spy; Nai Heng, capitalist; Mian Nim, inciting people to flee to Thailand; Mian Pon, taking shoes from the village committee; Mian Lee, body did not look like that of a farmer or laborer; Kim Hiang, pretended to be sick; Reun Phlani, 5, charged with being of the Vietnamese race; 10 others, age 9 and up, killed for being related to the others.

"One other relative," she said, "was killed because he fell in love with a young girl and they did not approve. After being murdered, his liver was taken out to preserve in alcohol. I saw this cruel action by my own eyes."

None of Miss Mian's family members were the spies and Lon Nol officers they were accused of being, she said. For families with real ties to the previous government, the fate was even worse.

Prak Meas, 25, served as a technician in the Cambodian air force, and now he is the only surviving member of his family. Fourteen died of famine and 15 others, including his father and wife, were executed because they were related to him. He escaped by pretending to be an illiterate peasant.

Judging from accounts from refugees, about half of the victims of the Pol Pot years were not executed but died of famine and associated diseases. But this, too, they see as a form of genocide, since most of those victims were the People of April 17, who were worked in the fields as slaves on starvation rations. People too sick to work received no food.

The most trivial infraction brought punishment of death. The regime boasted with some truth that it had no prisons. When the Vietnamese took over Phnom Penh, they found a school that had served as a prison called Tual Salaeng, but all they found there were the bones of 20,000 executed Cambodians and some foreigners.

The rulers of the country often showed a macabre sense of humor in their killing. Every village had an execution place, and the Khmer Rouge labeled them the "Santisoks," which means

"Peace Camps." In some places, they called them fertilizer factories, and the cadres often boasted that they were manufacturing fertilizer from the victims, though no one has reported seeing direct evidence of that.

Chan Le, a chauffeur from the town of Poipet, managed to survive and keep most of his family alive by working in the early years of the regime as a driver for the death camps.

He recalled that shortly after the fall of Phnom Penh, the Khmer Rouge cadres sent word out to all former officials of the previous regime to gather for a visit with Prince Norodom Sihanouk, then the nominal head of state for the Khmer Rouge, whom Sihanouk had supported during his exile.

"There were 2,000 officials, and they all dressed up in their fancy uniforms and epaulets to meet the prince. We took them in groups of 50 in 10 taxis and two trucks to a banquet.

"When they got to the banquet place, they were taken out and tied up and the Pol Pot troops laughed and said, 'traitors,' and shot them down.

"I remember one lieutenant, a Lieutenant Sanguan, he realized what was going to happen and he said, his last words, he said, 'Tell my wife Pol Pot lied, and I am dead.'"

Many had believed in the regime, particularly foreign students and exiles from the Lon Nol regime living abroad. The Khmer Rouge issued a call for them to return, and all but a few were executed upon their arrival.

The favorite means of killing people was beating them to death with bamboo sticks or stabbing them with sharp palm leaves, to save ammunition. In many villages, wells were choked with bodies, and throughout the country, Buddhist temples were turned into execution centers after the regime stamped out religion.

Many people who lived in Cambodia before the fall have been dismayed and confused by the wholesale brutality of the Khmer Rouge, especially since the Cambodians had a reputation as a gentle and religiously tolerant people.

The regime used as its soldiers and functionaries mostly those who had fought with it in the jungle, and during the war years—years that saw fierce bombing of the countryside by the United States—the guerrillas inculcated in their peasant followers an intense hatred for the urban dwellers.

After the takeover, the regime considered anyone who was much over 16 years old to be tainted by contact with the West and the previous regime. But, much as the Nazis had done, the troops separated the youth from their families and indoctrinated them in killing and hatred.

Many of the Khmer Rouge troops then—and even now—were very young; it was not uncommon during the regime for 14-year-olds to rule whole villages.

Prince Norodom Sihanouk, writing in his book, *Chronicles of War—and Hope(La Guerre et L'Espoir)*, published recently in Paris, blamed the use of these child-soldiers for much of the extreme brutality.

They were trained, Sihanouk said, to believe that they had life and death power over the "mass of slaves of all categories."

"It was highly amusing for children to play as real soldiers with real and highly murderous weapons.

"Pol Pot and Ieng Sary (a deputy premier) believed, quite correctly, that by getting them used to the cruelty game quite early, these child-soldiers ended up by delighting in massacres and thus in waging war," Sihanouk said.

In the Royal Palace, where Sihanouk was kept under house arrest, the child-soldiers played a cruelty game designed to "harden their hearts and minds." This included such exercises as catching mice, locking them in a cage and setting fire to it.

Sihanouk described another game that consisted of feeding live monkeys to crocodiles for spectacle. Later, when the Vietnamese-backed Heng Samrin government tried Pol Pot and Ieng Sary in absentia for genocide, witnesses testified that Khmer Rouge child-soldiers had fed young children of condemned families to the crocodiles at a crocodile breeding center in Siem Reap.

Everywhere, in the accounts of refugees who survived, there is a struggle for the words to express what they suffered.

"Everywhere, people were like living bones," said Jean Bun Huat, 26. "It is a hell of memories I don't want to keep."

Few of them want to return as long as the communists control the country, and though the current regime has been far more humane, refugees often point out that Heng Samrin was for many years a loyal follower of Pol Pot and that he presided over a region of the country, in the east, where atrocities were particularly severe.

"I never want to put my step on my motherland again if it continues to be under communist control," said Kong Roen, 52, a farmer. "I don't want to be separated from my children by force.

"I don't want to be in a country where the whole people are living with tears in their eyes."

Questions for Discussion

1. Describe some of the testimony given by Cambodian refugees.
2. How were young people involved in the efforts of the Khmer Rouge? Why?

3. Why would a regime want to get rid of—murder, imprison, or exile—its educated citizens?
4. How should the United States deal with what has happened in Cambodia?
5. The summer 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon to drive out the Palestine Liberation Organization terrorists stirred a great deal of controversy. Some critics charged that Israeli bombing and its other military tactics were acts that resembled genocide. Given what you have read, compare genocide of the Indians, Armenians, and Cambodians with what happened in Lebanon. Do research and decide whether what occurred in Lebanon was, in fact, genocide. Develop a set of factors for what makes a particular act a "genocide."

Definition

fiefdom—a feudal estate

The Councilperson's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

Following is another exercise in decision making. Many communities had to face this or similiar situations.

Imagine that the problem of the "boat people" has become so critical that the President of the United States has decided that he would permit massive numbers of ethnic Chinese from Vietnam to enter this country if individual communities were willing to accept them. Each community's local government would have the power to determine whether "boat people" could settle in their community.

You are a member of the local City Council. The federal government has taken note that your city, the largest city (in square miles) in the state, has great potential for expansion. The federal government recommends that 300 "boat people" families be permitted to enter your city and settle. The average size of the families would be 5.5. Their skills range from professional to those of the common laborer. The federal government assures the city that it will provide economic aid for over one year to the "boat people" and the city, but that, ultimately, the families would be fully integrated into society without the support of the federal government.

As a councilperson, you have part of the decision-making responsibility. You step back and examine what you feel are the problems for the city. You sit down and consider whether you would vote to permit 300 "boat people" families to settle in your community.

Questions for Discussion

1. What factors should you consider in making your decision?
2. Some people feel threatened when others infringe upon their territory. In what ways do you think that territoriality, racism, and economics might play a part in your community's attitudes toward the "boat people"?
3. What do you decide to do?
4. How should the U.S. deal with the influx of Mexicans, Cubans and Haitians? Does the U.S. have any special responsibility?

Definition

assimilate—absorb and incorporate.

Driven to Tears

Sting

This song by a rock group deals with the awareness of suffering in the world and our seeming incapacity and unwillingness to do much about it. It is very much a song of despair.

How can you say that you're not responsible?
What does it have to do with me?
What is my reaction?
What should it be?
Confronted with this latest atrocity.

Driven to tears, Driven to tears. . . .

Hide my face in my hands,
Shame wails in my throat,
My comfortable existence
Is reduced to a shallow, meaningless party
Seems when some innocent die,
All we can offer them is a page in some magazine,
Too many cameras and not enough food,
This is what we've seen.

Driven to tears, Driven to tears. . . .

Protest is futile,
Nothing seems to get through,
What's to become of our world?
Who knows what to do?

Driven to tears, Driven to tears. . . .

Questions for Discussion

1. How do you react when you see photographs of starving children? Do such pictures make people care more?
2. Do you agree that "protest is futile"?

The Passion of Mrs. Wiget

James Stolz

The news media have made much of the violent conflict and bad feelings between new immigrants and older Americans. It is important to realize that there are people who have been very sympathetic to the pain of these immigrants. The following article concerns a woman in Englishtown, New Jersey who has spent much of her time and money aiding Vietnamese refugees.

Five-year-old Duong Dai Hung was singing. He hurled his bright orange Frisbee into a clear New Jersey sky and watched as it landed softly on his neighbor's blacktop driveway. The child did somersaults on the lush suburban lawn. This had been his home for only a month. Before, for one and a half years, he had lived in a refugee camp in Thailand.

Inside, six Vietnamese women prepared food, slicing green vegetables and fresh pork. Another sat quietly sewing yards of soft green fabric into a dress suitable for an upcoming job interview. She lifted her head up from her work and spoke shyly in halting English: "My brother not make it. He drown leaving Saigon."

In one of the bedrooms a brother and sister, ages 15 and 16, slept side by side, exhausted, their arms and legs stretched out fully. Two small plaid suitcases rested against the foot of the bed. A few days earlier, after the twenty-hour flight from Malaysia, these "boat people" had arrived at Newark Airport. They are only two of more than 300 Vietnamese refugees who have been sponsored, housed, and fed by Mrs. Minh Le Wiget of Englishtown.

A number of agencies, church groups, and individuals in New Jersey have helped bring Vietnamese refugees to this country during the past few years. But none has been quite as remarkable as Mrs. Wiget. Since 1973, when she came to New Jersey, she has dedicated herself wholly to helping Vietnamese refugees resettle in the United States.

At any one time, her spacious two-story house has held as many as thirty-five people—people in transit, living with Wiget while learning English, trying to find work, and looking for places to settle. Given the fact that only about 2,000 Vietnamese refugees live in the state altogether . . . , the more than 300 who have passed through Wiget's doors comprise a pretty impressive achievement.

Wiget herself is 35 years old, an American citizen, and a widow. Like most of those she has helped, she is of Chinese extraction but was raised in Saigon. Her father, an exporter of clothing, died in 1970. After her father's death, she went to work as a translator for the U.S. State Department in order to support her mother, six brothers, and two sisters. She married an American whom she had met in Thailand, and in 1970 she emigrated to the United States. In 1974, her husband was killed in a plane crash. A $30,000 insurance policy helped Wiget survive until her brothers were able to leave Vietnam and join her in Englishtown, where they found work on a nearby farm. Their earnings, along with the social security check she receives as a result of her husband's death, plus the occasional small contributions made by some of her guests, enable her to get by from month to month. . . .

She resists talking about herself and seems genuinely surprised by questions about her motives. "I feel that they need help. That's why I do it. I think I am born that way, because I can't say no if they ask me for help." Sitting on her front steps, looking out on a colorful network of suburban homes, she pushes back her hair and speaks modestly: "I bring them to my house and I take care of them. That's it. If they need a doctor I take them. I show them how to use the shower, the telephone. I'm not doing this to be thanked. But I'm just one person. Who's going to sponsor the whole world? For the last five years all I have done is help refugee people. The rest of my life has stopped. I'm no hero. I never saw any choice. . . ."

Wiget has avoided becoming ensnared in too many American bureaucracies by keeping her household self-sufficient. Few of those living in her home collect welfare. Local residents have helped her structure an informal job grapevine by which she finds work for incoming refugees. Many work in restaurants, factories, and motels in the area. Wiget laughs when considering her bizarre lifestyle: "What am I doing out here in the middle of New Jersey with 300 Vietnamese people? We're like Martians out here. But if I was in the city and trying to do this job, everybody would be in trouble or on welfare. . . ."

The human stories that Wiget hears—of ruined careers, drownings at sea, monotonous months in the refugee camps—are overwhelming. Television news and the newspapers, along with the politicizing of the "boat people" issue, have tended to numb Americans to the suffering of these people. It takes an exceptionally strong person to live constantly with them. . . .

The community, meanwhile, has given Wiget a good deal of support, both moral and material. James Flanagan, a former mayor of Englishtown, arranged for a local contractor to build an addition to her home. Neighbors have donated clothing and mattresses. . . .

Mrs. Wiget carries on by means of a rare, compassionate stoicism, a temperament that seems to encompass both the acceptance of tragedy and the will to push beyond it. She recalls the case of My Ly, a 19-year-old woman from Saigon who arrived in the United States with a tiny suitcase and who wouldn't talk for three months. On the journey from Vietnam to Malaysia the boat had capsized; the bodies of her young brother and sister were never recovered. Wiget says: "She's begun to do some cooking and sewing. She'll be OK. She has no choice."

Then she looks over at 5-year-old Duong Dai Hung, who is now in the kitchen, smiling, stuffing himself with rice and drinking a glass of milk. "He's cute. You have no idea how many like him have died. Refugee people are starting life all over again. I tell them, 'Close your eyes . . . forget the past.' "

Question for Discussion

1. Mrs. Wiget stated that she was no hero and had no choice but to hel immigrants. Do you think it matters that she is Vietnamese? Explain.

The Rise of Nazism in Germany to 1933

This unit investigates the complex origins of the rise of the Nazi party and ideology in Germany. In the post-war malaise of Weimar Germany, Nazism especially attracted German youth who yearned for a new cause. Nazism was really a part of a more widespread fascist mentality that represented a rejection of nineteenth-century liberalism and democracy, and an acceptance of the idea of racial elites. The rapid rise of the Nazis between 1920 and 1933 was not solely dependent on Weimar's collapse. Nazism was in step with a set of traditional German values, e.g., authoritarianism, held by large segments of Germany's people who never accepted the Weimar Republic. Furthermore, the failure to combat the rise of Nazism in the 1920s, as well as the failure of other German political groups, left a vacuum of power that was filled by Nazi intimidation and hatemongering. The Nazis successfully employed anti-Semitism to stir dark passions against German Jews. This unit concludes with a review of some of the major historical theories explaining the rise of Nazism to power.

Tomorrow Belongs to Me

Ellen Switzer

The earlier twentieth century saw a rise of interest in the development of youth. This was reflected in the fascination with child psychology, the passage of child labor laws, the drive for mass public education, the new emphasis on body fitness, the creation of juvenile courts, the call for censorship of the new motion picture industry, and the birth of youth groups like the Boy Scouts. It was believed that the survival of any nation's power depended on "proper" child development. With the "proper" environmental influence, a child could be converted to any particular belief. Thus, children often became the special target of groups wanting to inculcate certain values.

One of the slogans of the Nazi party was "National Socialism is the organized will of youth." Seeing themselves as challenging the mistakes of the older generation, they shouted "Step down, you old ones *(Macht Platz ihr Alten).*" By 1930 many of the newly enfranchised young German voters would vote for the Nazi party. The following selection by Ellen Switzer portrays the importance of youth in the rise of Nazism and focuses on one young girl whose idealism would translate into participation in concentration camp atrocities. The corruption of youth is perhaps the Germans' greatest tragedy in the pre-Nazi period. Many young Germans were disillusioned by World War I and had sworn "never again." But by 1933, Germany stood on the brink of open conflict and its youth stood prepared to follow.

Now is the time
The hour calls to action
To cut down evil
To bring about a new world

Where every man on earth will have a good life
and home.

On the horizon we see a bright light.
The earth is turning to a new and better future.
As false gods fall
All men will be free . . .

Lyrics from JEZT IST DIE ZEIT *as reproduced*
in the Hitler Youth Song Book
lyrics by Christian Lahusen, 1931.

"It all sounded not only harmless but beautiful. Youth leading the way to a better world for all mankind. That's what we were told we could do. We were the important ones. We had not been corrupted by the old values. We could understand."

That's how one sad, gray German postal clerk recalled his early membership in the Hitler Youth.

In the motion picture *Cabaret* (which uses the location and the performers in a shoddy Berlin nightclub to symbolize the decline and fall of the German Republic) a young, proud and beautiful boy stands in the garden of a Bavarian country inn singing, "Tomorrow Belongs to Me." There is no hate, not even grim determination on his face; only joy and dedication to the new and better world he is describing. One by one the other guests at the inn join his song: mothers and fathers lifting their children to their shoulders, workers putting their tool kits under the table, women pushing aside their coffee cups or beer steins as they rise to their feet. Only a very few elderly people remain silent. Most of these look indifferent and some skeptical. One man bangs his beer stein on the table and moves his chair, obviously disgusted by the scene. As the camera moves away from the garden and the inn, one of the film's principal characters, a young British university instructor, asks another character, a German aristocrat, "Are you really sure you can control these people?" The aristocrat had assured the instructor earlier as they watched the aftermath of a bloody battle between a group of Nazi storm troopers and a Communist youth organization, that he, personally, welcomed civic disorder. His point was that the Communists and the Nazis would wipe each other out, and then he and people like him (responsible conservative Germans) would, of course, take over the power to which they had always been entitled.

The scene in the beer garden, superficially beautiful and peaceful, made many of us who grew up in Germany in the 1930s shudder as we watched the film. . . . Almost everyone who lived in Germany during the last years of the Weimar Republic and the early years of the Nazi era, knew many young, proud, idealistic, convinced Hitler followers. If you were young, often the most popular, friendliest, most helpful of your classmates wore the red flag with the white center and the black swastika, either as a lapel pin or as an armband. Because these boys and girls were so convinced themselves, they could be very persuasive. . . .

Looking back at my own junior-high-school class, I remember one girl, Ruth, who was always chosen for every elective office. Of course, we had no student government; the whole concept of students running their own affairs was entirely foreign to the German educational system in those days. But Ruth felt that we *should* have a large voice in the kind of courses we had to take, our athletic program, after-school activities, and a way to present our grievances against some of the teachers. So, she was elected to head every club, every team, every committee. Her most appealing qualities were her total sincerity and her willingness to share whatever she had with a classmate in need. If the school was cold because of a temporary coal shortage . . . Ruth would always lend you her sweater; she insisted that the cold air made her feel more alive. If you forgot your lunch, Ruth shared hers; she was not very hungry that day. Out of the same generosity that promoted her to share her clothing and her food, she also shared her ideas. Ruth was a totally dedicated Nazi.

She always had a large number of pamphlets, booklets, newsletters and other materials in her book bag, along with her school supplies. She never seemed to force the conversation toward politics. If one wanted to discuss clothes or one's problem with a teacher or a parent with Ruth, she was always willing to do so. But somehow, the discussion tended to turn political. Clothes really shouldn't matter so much. In the new and better Germany everyone would have a sufficient wardrobe, but clothes would no longer be a status symbol, she would say. . . . Here, take this booklet, it will explain what I'm talking about," she would often say, pressing into our hands yet another piece of literature. . . . Because Ruth rarely argued, almost never lost her temper, always listened and was often ready to supply practical help as well as pamphlets, many of us read the Nazi propaganda with a lot more concentration than we might have, had Ruth been less attractive than she was.

Some of us, especially those of us who were called "non-Aryan" (and therefore, thoroughly evil) in Ruth's booklets, often asked her how she could possibly have friends who were Jews or who had a Jewish background, when everything she read and distributed seemed to breathe hate against us and our ancestors. "Of course, they don't mean *you*," she would explain earnestly. "You are a good German. It's those other Jews, pacificists, socialists and liberals who betrayed Germany, that Hitler wants to remove from influence. . . ."

When Hitler actually came to power and the word went out that students of Jewish background were to be isolated, that "Aryan" Germans were no longer to associate with "non-Aryan" . . . Ruth actually came around and apologized to those of us to whom she was no longer able to talk. "The whole thing may be a misunderstanding," she explained. "Maybe it will all be straightened out later. But meanwhile, Hitler must know what he is doing, and I'll follow orders." Not only did she no longer speak to the suddenly ostracized group of classmates, she carefully noted down anybody who did, and reported them. She was, of course, selected to be the leader of her Hitler Youth Girls Troop, just as she had always been elected to head any group to which she belonged. . . .

Years later, after the war, some of us who had left Germany before being a non-Aryan became a danger to one's life checked on what had become of Ruth in the intervening decades. Miraculously, our school had not been hit by a bomb, and records were still intact.

Ruth had graduated from high school, joined the Nazi Women's organization after she outgrew the Girls Troop and had gone to nursing school. In a letter to our old headmistress she had written that "she had always loved people, and nursing seemed an especially valuable way to serve the new Germany."

However, there were some other records available on her activities. She had eventually become a nurse in a concentration camp where so-called experiments were carried out on helpless inmates. Most of these inmates died after appalling suffering. The headmistress, who like most of us had liked and admired Ruth, shook her head when she told us that Ruth had eventually been brought before a denazification court and accused and convicted of crimes against humanity. "In some ways it's hard to believe that she could have done those terrible things," the headmistress said. "But thinking back, I see now that Ruth had very little imagination. She really cared more about her beliefs and ideas than she did about people. Did you know that she reported one of our teachers, one she admitted she liked a lot, for making a joke about Hitler? The teacher lost his job here and could never find another one. I discussed this man's fate with her, and she said that she was deeply sorry for him and his family . . . but traitors just had to be eliminated from the educational system. She must have become convinced that the 'experiments' were more important to the new Germany than the suffering of the people who endured them. She really wasn't a sadist, she was not really a bad person. . . . Once she had come to believe in an idea—no matter how perverted, illogical and evil—she couldn't let go. She's now in prison and she's probably still sure that what she believed was right. . . ."

Questions for Discussion

1. Do you think the lyrics in the selection would be appealing to youth? Why?
2. What feelings does the author have about Ruth?

3. How do you think Ruth became involved in performing medical experiments on other human beings?
4. In the German film, "Our Hitler," the character portraying Hitler says, "I am the bad conscience of democratic government. . . . I am your most secret wishes." Is he right?

The Weimar Republic

Donald W. Oliver and Fred N. Newmann

The steps leading to the rise of Adolf Hitler and Nazism were not sudden. A variety of causes, from specific events to long-held ideas, contributed to the growth of Nazism. We begin with Germany's participation in World War I. Despite the initial enthusiasm for war and the unity of the German people, the war did not go well for Germany.

In 1918, after a long, bloody war, Germany surrendered to the Allied nations. Almost two million German soldiers had been killed, and many citizens had suffered from starvation. The monarchy under Kaiser Wilhelm was abolished. An agreement was made between the Social Democrats, the largest political party, and the army. The Social Democrats were permitted to form a new government, but the army was not disbanded. Instead, the army was used to maintain order and to help put down attempts to create Marxist governments in some of the German provinces. Such actions immediately set the tone of the new government that still had at least one foot firmly in the conservative past.

However, the new government established by the Social Democrats went much further than the Kaiser in providing a greater voice for the German people. For example, the right of free speech was guaranteed in the new constitution. It also provided for a republican form of government in which officials were elected to a parliament similar to the British model. This new government was called the Weimar Republic.

In order to counterbalance parliamentary power in Germany, framers of the constitution gave enormous power to the president. He was elected for seven years and given command of the armed forces. He had the right to appoint and dismiss the chancellor, dissolve Parliament for new elections, and, in some cases, even call for national referenda. Article 48 stated, "Should public order and safety be seriously disturbed or threatened, the president may take the necessary measures to restore public order and safety; in case of need, he may use armed force. . . ." These broad presidential powers made democracy vulnerable to attack.

Germany did not have a history of parliamentary democracy. Many different political parties developed; the abundance of political parties led to a multi-party government. The economic burdens placed on Germany by the Treaty of Versailles also caused a period of financial chaos for the new government.

But Weimar's worst problem was its lack of enthusiastic acceptance by any large interest group. Some Germans felt Weimar was not enough of a radical break from the past. As social critic Carl von Ossietzky said in 1924, "One hears people say that this republic is without republicans; unluckily, the situation is just the opposite; the republicans are without a republic." Kurt Tucholsky, the famous writer, called Weimar the *Scheindemokratie*, the "mock democracy." On the other hand, conservatives associated Weimar with Germany's defeat in the war, inflation, moral decline, and the rise of the Communists in the East. Wealthy industrialists and landowners, convinced that Weimar was only a temporary aberration, waited to move Germany to more conservative values. These attitudes would all become part of the Nazi challenge to Weimar.

When the defeated Germans called for an armistice in 1918, the country was shocked, because military leaders and the press had led civilians to expect a German victory. Military leaders claimed that Germany had been "stabbed in the back" by civilian leaders who urged surrender.

For centuries before World War I, Germans had been ruled by a wealthy nobility. Elections and democratic government had not been allowed by the powerful aristocracy after Germany became a united nation in 1871.

The defeat of the army in 1918 also brought the end of the monarchy; German political parties, along with the foreign victors, demanded formation of a new democratic government.

While most agreed that the aristocracy of Kaiser Wilhelm should be replaced, political factions strongly disagreed about specific plans for government and rebuilding of the war-torn society. . . .

The victorious allies—Britain, France, Italy, and the United States—met in Versailles, a suburb of Paris, and drafted a peace treaty. Germany, the loser, was not allowed to participate in the deliberations. According to the Versailles Treaty:

1. The French took rich prizes of German territory west of the Rhine River—the Saar area with its coal fields and the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine, which contained a great deposit of iron ore.

2. German-occupied territory to the east and south, including the former Austro-Hungarian Empire, was divided into new countries on the basis of voting by the inhabitants or by simple declaration of the Allies.

3. To disarm Germany, the Prussian army was limited to 100,000 men, and there could be no draft—in other words, there was to be a small, but professional, group of soldiers. Germany was not allowed to have heavy artillery, aircraft, or submarines. The Allies intended to divide the German fleet among themselves. (Just as this was about to happen in June 1919, however, German sailors opened the sea cock on each ship; almost all the $350-million fleet went to the bottom.)

4. Germany was required to pay a large but unspecified sum of money to the Allies (mainly France) for the cost of the war.

5. Germany had to admit that she was totally to blame for all the losses and damages of the war.

Weimar Constitution

Delegates elected to a National Assembly met in the town of Weimar (pronounced VY-mar) early in 1919. The three largest parties—Social Democrats, Center, and Democrats—worked together as a coalition. No one party had a majority, but these three together outnumbered all the rest.

Terms of the Versailles Treaty were so strongly opposed by all parties that at first no one would sign, and the Weimar cabinet resigned. By July, however, a new cabinet was chosen that did sign the treaty. The next day German newspapers appeared with their front pages edged in black, and one commented:

Today German honor is being carried to its grave. Do not forget it! The German people will reconquer its place among the nations, and then will come the vengeance for the shame of 1919!

The Weimar Assembly next drafted a constitution for the new republic.

The Reichstag (parliament) was to be elected by a system of proportional representation that guaranteed a voice to all significant minorities. Members were elected from national party lists in proportion to their party's national vote; that is, if a party got sufficient votes throughout the nation for two seats out of the hundreds in the Reichstag, the first two candidates on its national list would be elected.

The President was to be elected by all the citizens for a term of seven years. One of his most important powers, in Article 48 of the Constitution, was the right to call out the armed forces to preserve public order and to control state governments that did not perform their legal duties. The President was to appoint the Chancellor and cabinet ministers, with the approval of the Reichstag.

During the years of the Weimar Republic there was to be a new cabinet on the average of every nine months.

All citizens were guaranteed broad rights and freedoms in such areas as speech, privacy, assembly, political association, travel, religion, education, and economic security.

The final draft of the Constitution was approved in July 1919.

Violence

Despite a promising constitution, the republic faced continuing crises as various factions attacked the government and one another. Radical socialists and trade unions rioted and struck for higher wages and more power for the workers. Nationalists and the military claimed they had been "stabbed in the back" by the socialists, pacifists, and Jews.

Returning soldiers carried on the fight against "traitors" through armed political groups called *Freecorps*, led by former officers and financed by wealthy industrialists and landowners. One of their recruiting posters read:

COMRADES!

The Spartacist danger has
not yet been removed. The
Poles press even farther onto
German soil. Can you look on
these things with calm?
NO!

What would your dead com-
rades think? Arise! Prevent
Germany from becoming the
laughing stock of the earth.
Enroll NOW in the
HUELSON FREECORPS.

In addition to sporadic violence in the streets against socialists and radical groups, the freebooters attacked the government itself. In 1920, Dr. Wolfgang Kapp, head of the small Fatherland party, led 5,000 troops in revolt to occupy Berlin. Unchallenged by the regular army, they drove the Weimar government from the capital. But labor unions and government workers fought back. A nationwide strike, nearly 100 percent effective, paralyzed Germany's communications, transportation, and industry. Civil service workers refused to carry out the orders of the rebel government. Under such adverse conditions, Kapp gave up after one week in power.

Soon after the Kapp *putsch* (German name for a tightly organized rebellion), the Spartacists started a revolution to seize the factories in the industrial cities of the Ruhr area. This time, the German army invaded the Ruhr and quickly suppressed the revolts.

The French, worried by such violence, demanded that the Freecorps and other organizations be outlawed. Though this was done, the organizations formed again in disguise as gymnastic societies, sports clubs, and veterans' associations. The French also sent troops to occupy Ruhr cities besides those already occupied under the Versailles Treaty (further occupations were to come later on charges that Germany had failed to pay her war reparations).

Germans were sharply divided over whether they should abide by the Versailles Treaty. Whether the army should be limited, whether the Germans should allow French occupation of German cities, and whether the Germans should pay huge sums of money to the Allies for war damages—these were the issues over which one cabinet after another resigned, unable to get enough agreement among the parties to run the government. Although by 1922 a majority of the Reichstag agreed on a policy of *fulfillment* of treaty terms, bitter opposition remained. One morning in 1923 Walther Rathenau, a Jewish industrial executive who helped develop the fulfillment policy as Minister of Reconstruction in the cabinet, left his home for work. A group of young anti-Semitic nationalists killed him with guns and grenades from a moving car. Though many Germans were shocked and revolted by the deed, a new song echoed in German fraternity houses and torchlight processions:

Rathenau has croaked—that's fine!
The God-damned dirty Jewish swine.

Inflation

According to the Versailles Treaty, Germany owed France for all war damages—destroyed bridges, burned forests, ruined factories and towns—and all soldiers' pay and pensions. One economist predicted that it would take all of Germany's surplus production for all time to pay this. France demanded steady reparations: shipments of timber, coal, iron ore. When Germany hesitated in payments, France occupied the Ruhr to run the factories herself.

Instead of taxing its people to finance World War I, Germany had borrowed the money and thus incurred an enormous debt to her own citizens. To pay this debt after the war, the German government simply printed more paper currency. . . . The rapid printing of marks unsupported by real economic value caused severe inflation. In the spring of 1922, about 300 marks could buy an American dollar. By early 1923 it took 50,000 marks per dollar, and soon Germans needed billions of marks to pay for a postage stamp and trillions to pay for a bit of food. . . .

Farmers would not sell a dozen eggs for any amount of money, but they could trade them to a merchant for a can of oil for their machinery. At the high point of this crisis the government, to keep up with the inflation, bought paper from 300 mills, printed money at over 2,000 printing establishments on a 24-hour basis, and put into circulation 46 billion marks a day. Men pushed wheelbarrows full of money down the streets to buy a pound of meat. . . .

Depression

In 1929, the New York stock market crashed, marking the beginning of a world-wide depression. The shock waves took two years to hit Germany full force. But Germany depended on money from abroad; she sold exports of manufactured goods and she borrowed to pay war reparations. Because of failing businesses everywhere, the banks closed, unable to meet demands of their depositors. . . .

Unemployment in Germany grew from 2,258,000 in March 1930, to 4,355,000 in October 1931, to 6,031,000 in March 1932. Those Germans who still had employment saw their scanty wages fall steadily from month to month. . . .

In the woods around Berlin, families pitched tents or lived in packing crates when they couldn't afford to pay rents in the city. In the fields nearby farmers stood with loaded rifles in a futile attempt to keep off the hordes of starving men who came out from the city to steal food for their families. The insurance that the state had for unemployed workers lasted the first three months of joblessness. But no one found work within that period, or even within a year, and the insurance payments ran out. People were reduced to welfare or begging in the streets.

Riots fomented by Communists and Nazis, who both wanted immediate and forceful solutions to Germany's crisis, ended Weimar's "golden years."

Questions for Discussion

1. Did signing the Versailles Treaty seal the eventual doom of the new Weimar government?

2. Would you agree that the existence of many political parties is a negative development in a society? How is it possible to avoid having too many political parties in a society? How many is "too many"?
3. What role did private armies play in destroying the Weimar Republic? Do you know of other countries in recent times that have had private militias? How did these militias affect the nation?
4. There is a famous poem by Wilfred Owen, a British poet who died in World War I, that expresses the spirit of those who fought in that war: *"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori. . . ."* ("It is sweet and becoming to die for one's country.") How do you react to this view?
5. How was the fate of Walter Rathenau an example of what was to happen in Germany?
6. It has been said that left-wing intellectuals in Weimar Germany like Kurt Tucholsky helped to destroy the republic with their constant verbal attacks on the government. Historian Harold Poor has written: "All criticism of things as they are run the risk of making way for conditions which are even worse. But the chance for improvement makes the risk worth taking. Tucholsky did not destroy the Republic: he did make a desperate and ultimately futile bid to transform it into a humane and democratic society." Is it true that criticism can often lead to making things worse? If so, ought one then to refrain from criticism? How does one weigh the options and the risks?

Definitions

socialism—theory promoting the ownership of the means of production by the state rather than by individuals; all members of society would share

Spartacists—Communist Party.

Jewish Life in Twentieth Century Europe

Jews have lived in Europe for more than 2,000 years. The Jews of Eastern and Western Europe developed their own culture while also contributing to the countries in which they lived. Two examples of the nature of their contributions can be found in Poland and Germany. Judah Pilch gives us an overview of the more than three million Jews who lived in Poland, more than in any other European country. A large number of them lived in the cities such as Warsaw, Vilna, and Cracow. There were over 500,000 Jews in Germany. One hundred thousand, writes Otto Friedrich, were loyal German soldiers in World War I.

Yet in the wake of the war and the revolution in Russia, Jews all over Europe faced a fierce brand of anti-Jewish feeling. In Germany the Weimar government would increasingly be seen as a Jewish concoction. Well before 1933, attempts would already be made to reduce the gains made by Jews at the beginning of the century.

The Jews of Poland

Judah Pilch

After World War I, the newly established state of Poland had a Jewish community of 3,300,000, the largest and one of the oldest in Europe and the second largest in the world. It was organized as a *Kehillah* [structured community], with power of owning all communal property, such as synagogues, cemeteries, hospitals, and with authority to direct the communal educational, religious and social-cultural institutions. Each town, large and small, was represented on a Council which was elected by direct, secret ballot.

The greatest achievement of Polish Jewry was its educational system maintained at its own cost. Here, too, the different Jewish ideological and religious groups maintained their respective types of schools, each with its own language of instruction in Hebrew, Yiddish, Polish, or bilingual. Of the total Jewish school population of 425,000 some 340,000 attended these schools. The Jewish community also maintained teacher training schools, rabbinical academies, trade schools and other cultural institutions, such as museums, libraries, and adult study courses.

In higher general education, Jewish students were greatly handicapped because of discrimination against them by the universities. As many as half of the Jewish trainees in various professions had to seek admission to foreign universities.

When they returned home they had great difficulty in gaining permits to practice their professions.

Jewish cultural life of a religious and secular character flourished throughout Poland. There was a large output of books, magazines, dailies and other publications. In higher institutions of Jewish learning, such as the famous *Yeshivoth* of Lublin and Mir, the *Yiddish Scientific Institute* (in Vilna), the Institute for the Science of Judaism (in Warsaw), scholars produced many volumes on Jewish subjects and trained students who later spread Jewish knowledge throughout the world. In the Jewish museums of Warsaw, Vilna, and Cracow one could find treasures of the past as well as creations of such contemporary artists as Marc Chagall, Henryk Glicenstein, and Arthur Szyk. A vibrant religious life, centering around thousands of synagogues, courts of hasidic rabbis, and individual homes, endowed the Jews with the strength and courage to live a traditional Jewish life in a non-Jewish world, frequently hostile. The Sabbaths and the holidays, all rites and customs were observed in an atmosphere that glowed with joy and piety.

Jewish communal life also abounded with a variety of political, social, philanthropic, and mutual aid organizations and institutions which helped the Jew to cope with the complexity of problems calling for action. There were organizations aiming to restore to the Jew individual human rights and freedom as well as collective autonomy, and to defend these rights along political lines. Numerous Zionist organizations helped in the rebuilding of Palestine.

Jews also contributed their full measure to the general culture of Poland in science, art, literature, and music. Among others, Julian Tuwim was considered the foremost contemporary poet of the Polish language, Bruno Winawer was prominent in literature, Bronislaw Huberman in music, and Szymon Ashkenazi in historiography.

The Jewish community of Poland functioned under tremendous hardships of financial limitations and governmental discrimination, which drove large Jewish masses into poverty and migration. The anti-Semitic attitudes of the government and the masses produced economic boycotts and outbreaks of violence against Jews. Nevertheless, the Jews fought their battle for survival with all possible means through internal efforts and with the aid of American Jewry, and they maintained their communal life on a high level to the very end of the interwar period. . . .

The Jews of Germany

Otto Friedrich

When World War I began, the Jews expressed their sense of German nationalism by swarming into the army with an ardor as lemming-like as that of the gentiles. Some 100,000 Jews (one out of every six, including the women and children) entered the German Army. Of these, 80,000 served in front-line trenches, 35,000 were decorated for bravery, and 12,000 were killed. "The Jews were pathologically patriotic," says Rabbi Prinz. "My father served in the war, and my *grandfather* was wounded in 1866, in the war against the Austrians. He was enormously proud of that." And only an American reporter thought it odd that a segregated cemetery should have been created for the Jews who had been killed. "It was a vast place," Ben Hecht said, "acres and acres of earth covered with rows of little marble slabs. . . . [My guide said:] 'They fought bravely for their Fatherland. More Jews were killed in battle than Germans. The Jewish population of Germany was only one half of one percent. The Jewish deaths in the war were three percent.' "

Only after the war, finally, did the Jews attain the full equality that had been promised them in 1812 and 1871. Numerically, they remained a tiny minority, never more than about one percent of the population. Those few, however, tended to congregate in Berlin. The 50 families of 1671 grew to a population of 3,322 in 1800, to 92,000 in 1900, to a peak of 173,000 in 1925 (about six times the 29,000 in Frankfurt, Germany's second-largest Jewish community). Even during this increase, Berlin's Jews never numbered more than five percent of the city's population, but they managed to acquire some very visible positions of power and prestige. They were enormously influential in commerce, dominating the giant Deutsche, Dresdener, and Darmstadter banks, and huge department stores like Wertheim, Tietz, and Kaufhaus Israel. The most important newspaper groups, Ullstein and Mosse, were owned by Jews, and, to a very considerable extent, the spectacular culture of Berlin in the 1920's, the culture dominated by men like Max Reinhardt and Bruno Walter and Albert Einstein, was a Jewish culture.

To the Jews, this was naturally a matter of pride, and more than one Jewish chronicler has pointed out that one-quarter of all the Nobel Prizes won by Germans in the first third of this century were won by German Jews. To many gentiles, however, even those who vehemently deny the accusation of anti-Semitism, this flowering of Jewish life represented the triumph of an alien and vaguely threatening force. Whatever the Jewish hopes for assimilation might be—and they were considerable ("Jews are political idiots," says Rabbi Prinz. "They are too optimistic, too hopeful. They do not understand an enemy")—the unusual structure of German religious life tended to keep them permanently separate.

To a nation shattered by defeat and revolution, the emergence of Jews in public life seemed a somehow sinister development, quite apart from the old religious antagonism. Even in more ordinary situations, the quantity of Jewish publishers and doctors and lawyers seemed to many anxious gentiles something other than the triumph of the fittest. "The 1920's were governed, in science, medicine, in culture, by the Jews," says one embittered survivor of that period. "The professors at the university were Jews. If a student was a Jew, he would get the best job. If you had a Jewish lawyer, you could win a case, but if you didn't, you would lose. And any job which promised to get money out of it was in the control of the Jews. For us, for the Germans, it was very bad."

Questions for Discussion

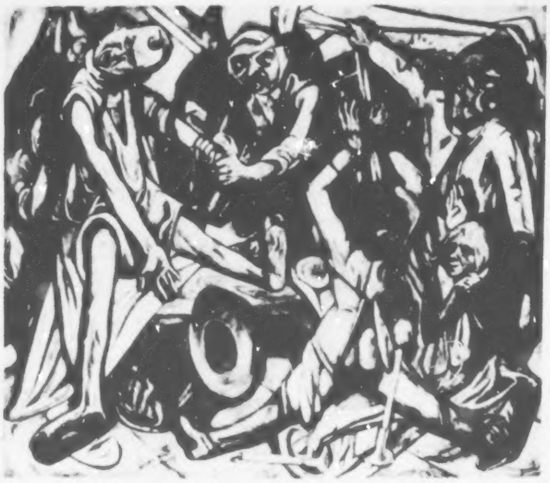
1. How did Jews contribute to both Polish and German cultures?
2. How many of the Jewish students in Poland attended Jewish schools? What might this indicate about the degree of integration of Jews into Polish society?
3. How did some Germans see the role of Jews in the economic and cultural life of Germany?

Weimar Art

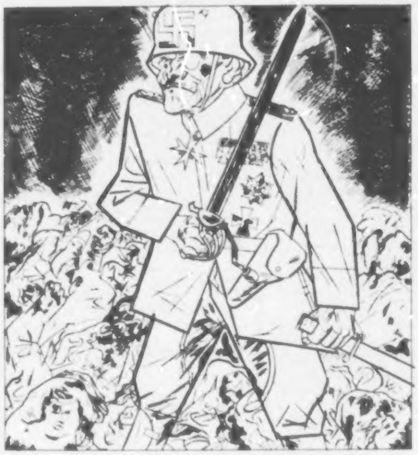
Many artists who worked during the period of the Weimar Republic were very dissatisfied with their government. Much of this unhappiness was expressed in the savage political content of their art. One of the best of these artists was George Grosz. He became a symbol of what the Nazis later called "degenerate art." Grosz was a social critic who believed that the reality of the Weimar Republic could not be hidden.

"The White General," drawn in the wake of the Munich Putsch led by Adolf Hitler in 1923 is a remarkable vision of the Germany to come.

Artist Max Beckmann was another Weimar artist very much interested in political events. His drawing, "The Night," dramatizes the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. As the founder of the German Communist Party, Liebknecht opposed World War I and worked as a lawyer for socialist causes. Luxemburg was a brilliant Polish pacifist and Communist. In 1919, they led an attempt in Berlin to overthrow the government that was called the Spartacist Revolt. The Weimar government, using the Free Corps, "cleansed" the city of revolutionary influences. Liebknecht and Luxemburg were found, arrested, and then brutally murdered by the Free Corps.



Max Beckmann, "The Night," 1919.



George Grosz, "The White General."

Questions for Discussion

1. What symbol is on the helmet of "The White General"?
2. What emotions do you see in the faces of "The Night"?

Definition

Free Corps—right wing paramilitary units composed of former officers and soldiers, fanatical nationalists and unemployed youths.

The Rise of Fascism

The period following World War I was a time of turbulent change all over the world. In the United States, many American writers and artists, disillusioned with the war experience, became "the lost generation." In the 1920s, America would experience conservative politics, economic prosperity, and finally terrible depression in 1929. In Italy, Benito Mussolini would become its fascist dictator in 1922. Francisco Franco would assume the same role in Spain in the mid-1930s. Many of the Eastern European governments became virtual dictatorships.

In the wake of war and the Russian Revolution in 1917, many of Europe's lower middle class and wealthy elites turned toward groups that promised to defend the old traditions and turn back the communist threat. This was the basis of fascism, a movement that valued control by elites, military power, and racial pride.

The slogans of the Italian fascists reveal their values:

"He who has steel has bread."
"War is to the male what childbearing is to the female."
"All within the state, nothing outside the state, nothing against the state."
"The Fascist man does not believe in everlasting peace."
"Nothing has been won in history without bloodshed."
"Right without might is vain."
"The plough makes the furrow, but the sword defends it."
"Mussolini is always right."*

It was in 1918 that William Butler Yeats, the Irish poet, wrote:

Turning and turning in the widening gyre
The falcon cannot hear the falconer:
Things fall apart; the centre cannot hold:
More anarchy is loosed upon the world,
The blood-dimmed tide is loosed, and everywhere
The ceremony of innocence is drowned;
The best lack all conviction, while the worst
Are full of passionate intensity.

In later years, Yeats, himself, was attracted to the fascist movement in Ireland.

Questions For Discussion

1. How do you react to the last two lines of the Yeats poem?
2. Which was a worse threat after the war, fascism or communism?
3. Do you think it was or is possible to be a fascist and yet not be anti-Semitic? Can one be a fascist and not be a racist?
4. It has been said that the growth of private armies after the first world war contributed to the eventual success of fascism in Europe. Has there been any attempt among any American groups to develop private armies?

* Anthony Rhodes, *Propaganda*. New York: Chelsea House, 1976.

What the Nazis Believed

What was so attractive about Nazism? Before answering that, we must first understand what the Nazis believed. As one author has stated, "Nazism is an attitude towards life."

I. The Nazis valued the community rather than the individual.
   A. The overall goal was unity; as Hitler stated: "the preservation and fostering of living beings who are physically and mentally alike."
   B. As befits the term "totalitarian," the state would largely control the life of the citizen. As Robert Ley put it, "our state never releases the human being from the cradle to the grave." Individuals were to be measured by their usefulness to the state.
   C. These values were supported by the words of others in German history. The philosopher Hegel had said, "Everything that man is, he owes to the state . . . all value which man has, all spiritual reality, he only has through the state."

II. The Nazis valued authority and order.
   A. Democracy as a workable system was dead. The people needed a mystical savior to lead them. Hitler was their charismatic salvation. He was "Der Fuhrer."
   B. When the Nazis went to the people, they gave "the whole people an opportunity to demonstrate and proclaim its support of an aim announced by the Fuhrer." The Fuhrer was infallible. He gave the laws to Germany.
   C. As one Nazi stated, "The National Socialists believe in Hitler who embodies their will. . . . Only what Adolf Hitler, our Fuhrer, allows or does not allow is our conscience." "In thy service is perfect freedom."
   D. The Nazis quoted the German writer Goethe, "I would rather commit an injustice than endure disorder." Thus, the emphasis was placed on order, control, discipline, duty, and sacrifice. "Through the door of death we enter the door of true life. . . . He who does not risk his life to gain it ever anew is already dead, though he still breathes, eats, and drinks. Death is only a departure for the sake of a higher life. . . . We are born to die for Germany."
   E. To justify Hitler's decision making, the Nazis quoted Gerhart Hauptmann. "If only life would demand no more solutions from us." Since people did not want to make decisions, Hitler would do it for them.

III. The Nazis valued the concept of a select race.
   A. The Germans were a superior race, a group they called the Aryan race.
   B. Germany was destined to lead the world. Nature and fate would produce events to make this happen. The Aryan people would need more territory in which to grow. This desire to expand German boundaries was called *Lebensraum*.
   C. Only those of true German blood could be citizens. The Nazis called them the *Volk*. Concern for the Volk lead to a glorification of German "ancestry." Great Germans of the past, from Beethoven to Wagner, were honored. The Nazis studied Teutonic mythology and took pride in the heroic exploits of their ancestors. Praising the past led to an admiration for the medieval peasant. The peasant virtues of simplicity, honesty, and physical labor were glorified.
   D. As a result, Nazi education emphasized German history, biology, and physical education.
   E. One of the favorite images of the Nazis was the German painter Albrecht Durer's "The Knight, Death, and The Devil." The Nazis saw themselves as heroic, loyal, and racially pure knights of the Round Table searching for the Holy Grail.
   F. The Aryans would produce a Golden Age, a millennium which they called the "Third Reich." The First Reich was the Holy Roman Empire of Frederick Barbarossa, the Second Reich was under Otto von Bismarck. The Third Reich would last a thousand years.

IV. The Nazis saw politics as a religion.
   A. Hitler was looked upon as someone greater than Jesus.
   B. Acts against the state would be immoral in almost a religious sense.
   C. Nazism became a mission: "The Reich must direct the life of nations, individuals, and states. The Reich signifies a mission."

V. The Nazis valued emotion more than reason.
   A. Thinking was criticized. A person should act spontaneously and directly.
   B. The Nazis referred to the educated middle class as "acrobats of the intellect," "intelligence beasts with paralysis of the spine," and "hothouse plants incapable of achievement." Hitler called them "rejects of nature." An SS paper stated that I.Q. was inversely proportional to male fertility. "Intellectuals validate their claim to existence within

the community by a paucity of children."

C. The Nazis emphasized physical force and strength. Sports were important to develop the body to serve the state. As one Nazi stated, "A young man who works with a spade for six months on the western fortifications has done more for Germany than an intellectual has done during his whole life."

D. War was the ultimate expression of man's capacity for sacrifice, courage, and greatness. "The measure of the strength of a people is always and exclusively its readiness for military conflict."

VI. The Nazis believed in the use of the "big lie" to manipulate people. As Hitler wrote, "A definite factor in getting a lie believed is the size of the lie. The broad mass of the people, in the simplicity of their hearts, more easily fall victim to a big lie than a small one."

VII. The Nazis were strong nationalists.

A. The Nazis used incited appeals to German patriotism. Germany was a nation wronged by history.

B. To return to its rightful place, Germany should disregard any sense of "morality" in international life. They opposed German participation in any peace organizations such as the League of Nations.

C. The Nazis were critical of all people except those of the "Volk." The Poles were "racial anti-types"; the British were worshippers of Mammon. Of the United States, Hitler stated, "One Beethoven symphony contains more culture than America has produced in her whole history." To Hitler, America was a Philistine, mongrelized community descended from convicts and the unwanted dregs of society. The Russians were just above the Jews.

VIII. The Nazis had a strong belief in the traditional family.

A. The family was "the germ cell of the state."

B. Women were not equal to men. Their purpose: *Kindersagen*, to be blessed with children. Women were encouraged not to wear make-up (which was considered a conspiracy of the Jews) or pants.

C. Women were encouraged to have many children. The display of contraceptives and their advertisement would be banned, and birth control clinics would be closed. Abortions were called "acts of sabotage against Germany's racial future," and strict penalties would be given to doctors performing them. Men were encouraged to be adulterous if their wives were barren.

D. The Nazis, like many in the early twentieth century, were interested in eugenics. To prevent the spread of "bad genes," the Nazis would recommend the sterilization of those suffering from physical malformation, mental retardation, epilepsy, deafness, and blindness.

Advocated by Nazis

community
unity
the fuhrer
mysticism
salvation
charisma
order
discipline
duty
sacrifice
conformity
Aryan
blood
destiny
Volk
Lebensraum
physical labor
heroism
sense of mission
strength
war
patriotism/nationalism
Social Darwinism
male dominance
force/violence
eugenics
control

Opposed by Nazis

democracy
equality
individual freedom
Jews
thinking
peace
internationalism
Marxism/Communism
rationalism
a passive Jesus
modernity
birth control
integration of races
conscience
pluralism
intellectual inquiry
abstract art

Questions for Discussion:

1. How do you feel about judging the value of someone by examining his or her usefulness to you?
2. What did the Nazis believe about the average person's desire to make political decisions? Are they right?
3. Why were the Nazis so critical of intellectuals? Is the development of the mind or the body more important?

4. Do you think the values expressed by the Nazis were very unusual in their day? Discuss.
5. The following statement was made by Theodore Roosevelt in the early twentieth century:

   > Some day we will realize that the prime duty, the inescapable duty of the good citizens of the right type is to leave his or her blood behind him in the world; and that we have no business to permit the perpetuation of citizens of the wrong type. The great problem of civilization is to secure a relative increase of the valuable as compared with the less valuable or noxious elements in the population. . . . The problem cannot be met unless we give full consideration to the immense influence of heredity. . . . I wish very much that the wrong people could be prevented entirely from breeding; and when the evil nature of these people is sufficiently flagrant, this should be done. Criminals should be sterilized and feebleminded persons forbidden to leave off-spring behind them. . . . The emphasis should be laid on getting desirable people to breed.

   What values are indicated by the statement? Do you agree with the statement?
6. What kind of society is created that downplays the role of morality and conscience?

The Message of the Nazis: Slogans, Posters, Songs and Games

Slogans, games, songs and posters were important ways of emotionally carrying the message of Nazism to the German people. In a very simple manner, they spread the values of Nazism. They allowed people to participate in the Nazi movement and conveyed the feeling of a widely supported, passionate, and active break with the Weimar past.

Major Slogans

Deutschland Erwache! Judah Verrecke!—Germany Awake! Judah Perish!
Ein Reich, Ein Volk, Ein Fuhrer!—One State, One People, One Leader!
Deutschland Ist Hitler! Hitler Ist Deutschland—Germany is Hitler! Hitler is Germany!
Wer Kennt den Jude, Kennt den Taufel!—Whoever knows the Jews, knows the Devil!
Deutschland Uber Alles—Germany Above Everything
Sieg Heil!—Hail to Victory!
Heil Hitler!—Hail to Hitler!
Volk Ohne Raum—People without Space
Weltmacht Oder Niedergang!—World Power or Ruin!
Heute Deutschland! Morgen Die Welt!—Today Germany! Tomorrow the World!
Die Juden Sind Unser Ungluck!—The Jews are our misfortune!

Songs

Hold high the banner! Close the hard ranks serried!
S.A. marches on the sturdy stride
Comrades, by Red Front and Reaction killed, are buried,
But march with us in image at our side.
Gangway. Gangway now for the Brown battalions!
For the Storm Troopers clear roads o'er land.
The Swastika gives hope to our entranced millions.
The day for freedom and for bread's at hand

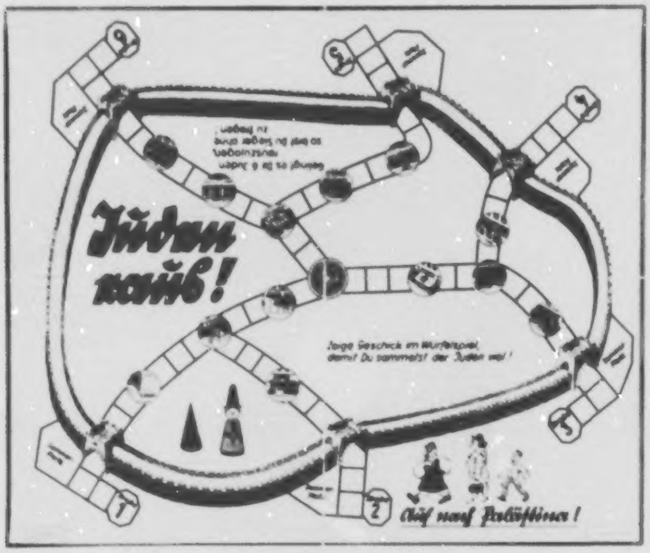
The trumpet blows its shrill and final blast.
Prepared for war and battle here we stand,
Soon Hitler's banner will wave unchecked at last,
The end of German slav'ry in our land. . . .

Forward. Forward. With resounding fanfares
Forward. Forward. Youth knows no peril.
Germany, you will stand resplendent
although we may die.
Forward. Forward. With resounding fanfares.
Forward. Forward. Youth knows no peril.
Be the goal ever so high,
Youth will gain it.
Our banner precedes us, fluttering in the breeze,
as we march into the future, man after man.
We'll march for Hitler through night and through danger
with the flag of youth, for freedom and bread.
Our banner precedes us, fluttering in the breeze.
Our banner signals the new time.
Our banner leads us to eternity.
Yes, our banner is worth more than death.

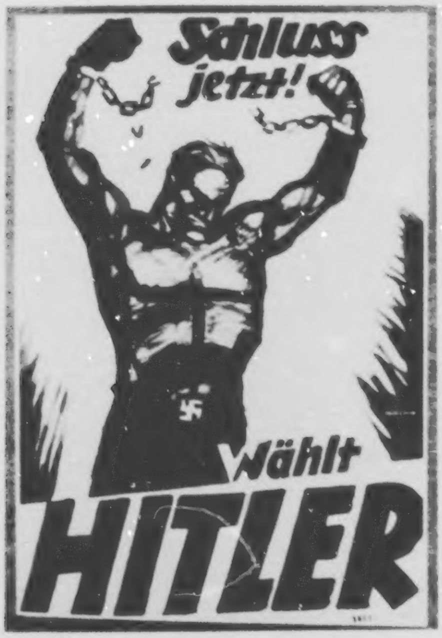
Symbols

The three most well-known symbols of the Nazis are the swastika, the runic slashes, and the Hitler salute.

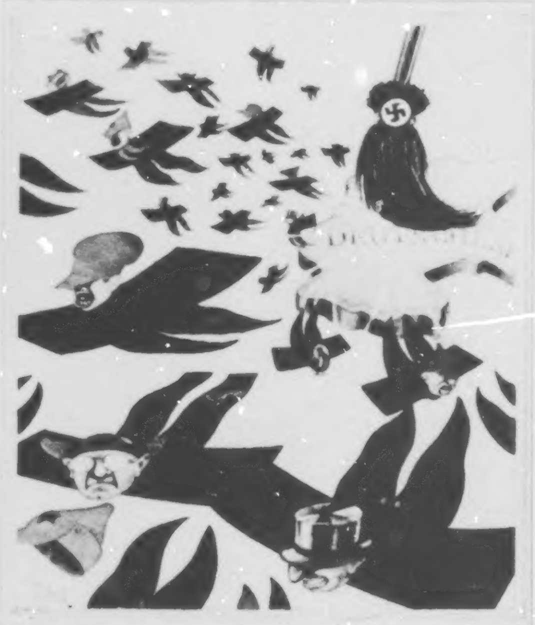
- The swastika was the central symbol of the Nazi movement. In Hitler's youth, it was used by J. Lanz-Liebenfels in his secret society, the "New Temple," in Austria in 1900. After World War I, the Freecorps group known as the Ehrhardt Brigade painted the swastika on their helmets. Thus, the swastika had been used as a symbol of racial strength before the Nazis.
- The runic slashes were used by Lanz' colleague, Guido von List. They were considered another potent racial symbol and would become the symbol of the SS, the Nazi elite.
- The "Heil" greeting was used by a German youth group, the Wandervogel, as early as 1901. Rudolf Hess, an early Nazi and totally devoted to Hitler, was the first to use the salutation, "Heil Hitler!"


Juden raus!
Auf nach Palästina!

Children's board game, "Jews Get Out," sold in Germany in 1939 and 1940.



1932 Election poster: "Enough Now! Vote For Hitler!"



The Nazis sweep out alien elements, early 1930's.

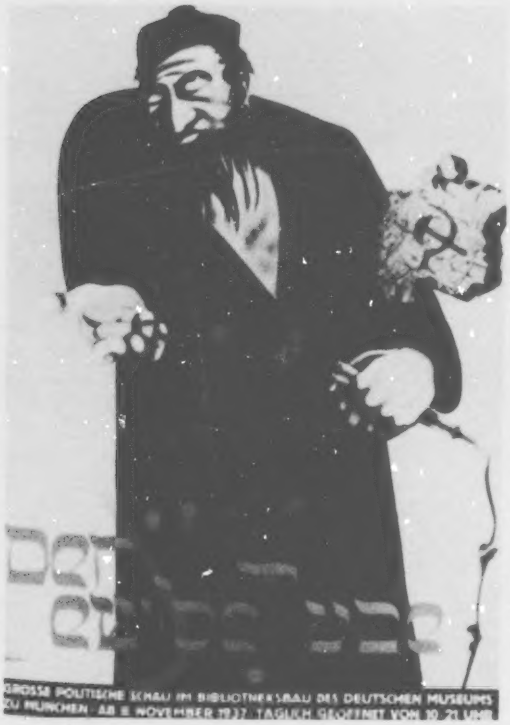
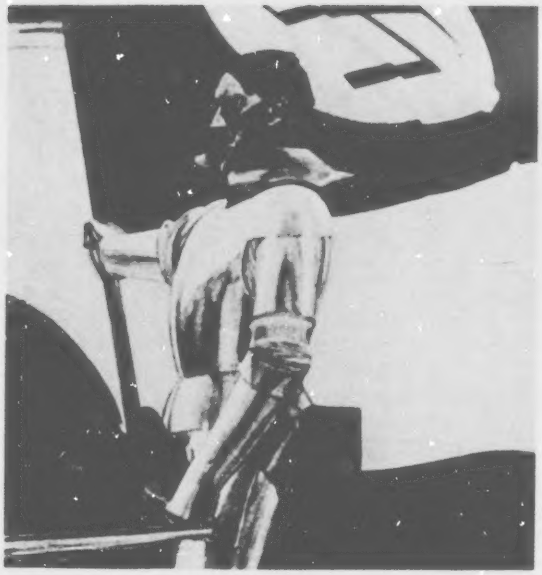

GROSSE POLITISCHE SCHAU IM BIBLIOTHEKSBAU DES DEUTSCHEN MUSEUMS
ZU MÜNCHEN · AB 8. NOVEMBER 1937 · TÄGLICH GEÖFFNET VON 10-21 UHR

Exhibit poster for the Wandering Jew exhibit, Munich, 1937. Artist unknown.



"The Flag Bearer," 1930's, Germany.

Questions for Discussion

1. What are the most important values expressed in the slogans and songs?
2. How is Hitler portrayed in "The Flag Bearer"? What do you think this symbol means?
3. Describe the Nazi interpretation of "The Wandering Jew."
4. Who are the "alien elements" being swept out of Germany? How are they depicted? Why?
5. What impact do you think the board game "Jews Get Out" had on the players?
6. Describe the impact of the Nazi election campaign poster. What passions does it display?

Decision Making: Pre-Nazi Germany

What Would You Do?

Consider the following situations of the pre-Nazi period that required difficult decisions. Perhaps the many small decisions made by average Germans in the 1920s and early 1930s contributed very subtly to the rise of the Nazis.

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1. A. Herbert Kleinst is a young German shopkeeper who runs a small business in Munich in 1931. Kleinst, who has three young children, prefers to remain outside of the politics that wracks Germany during the Weimar Republic. One morning, a man in a trenchcoat comes into his shop and demands that a Nazi poster be placed in his store window. The national election is three weeks away and the campaigning has been furious. Kleinst sees how the S.A. (Storm Troopers) uses violence in the street and how it intimidates the opposition with the threat of violence. What should Kleinst do? Should he post the campaign poster?

B. After the election, the same man enters and tells Kleinst that, in the interest of the community, he should not buy from any Jewish store owners. For a long time, Kleinst has done business with Rosenbaum, the jeweler, and Holstein, the grocer. The man explains that there could very well be serious consequences if he does not obey. Should Kleinst obey the boycott?

2. Klaus Dorn is a German citizen living in Munich in 1930. Late one night, he is walking down one of the major streets of the city on his way home. He observes three young men smashing a jewelry store owned by a Jew. They drag the owner out into the street and beat him severely. They leave the owner bleeding and lying in the gutter. The owner observes that a stranger has seen what has happened. The owner goes to the police and tells his story. He describes Dorn as a witness to the scene. Dorn continues walking home. He suspects that the three young men responsible for the beating are members of the Nazi S.A.—the Storm Troopers. What should he do?
3. Judith Bloble is a bookstore owner in Munich, Germany in 1930. She has been asked by several young Nazis to eliminate all non-German books from her shelves and to refuse to do business with all Jewish customers. What should she do?
4. Adolf Bremer is a young German father of two boys, Otto and Heinrich. The year is 1939 in Munich. Otto's best friend, Herman Muller, is a member of the *Hitler Jugend*, a Nazi youth group. Herman is very much admired by Otto. After many discussions, Otto asks his father if he could join the youth group. Many of Otto's friends have already joined. After all, the group is engaged in social activities, camping, marching, and physical development. Also, Otto is impressed by the flashy uniforms and the bright buttons of the members. What should Adolf say to his son?
5. Oskar Wertham is a successful German business executive in the Krupp Steel manufacturing firm. Wertham served as an officer during World War I and was decorated. During Weimar, he was one of the supporters who brought von Hindenburg, the old general, to power. He had seen the growing violence of the 1920s, the unstable economic conditions, and the disorder in the streets. The Communists had grown stronger in Germany, and this worried Wertham greatly. He had watched the growth of the Nazi Party and its widening support. After the economic crash of 1929, a friend of Wertham comes to see him and asks for financial support (50,000 marks) for the Nazis. The friend explains that the Nazis are the only hope for Germany in its fight against Communism and the maintenance of a capitalist society. Should Wertham offer his financial support for the Nazis? If not, what should he do?
6. David Gramer was a supporter of Weimar during the 1920s. During this period he had seen the S.A. take over the streets with the use of open violence. The Nazis break windows, use physical force against their opponents, and even use assassinations. It appears that the police do little to stop S.A. street violence. He also realizes that the courts give Nazis very light fines for offenses committed while they dole out heavy sentences to socialists. Gramer is approached by several young friends who, like him, were disillusioned by the war experience. They argue that the only way to deal with Nazi street violence is with opposing violence. His friends wish to create a republican support group that will take on the storm troopers in the streets, with the full understanding that blood may be shed. Should Gramer participate in such a group?
7. It is 1930 in Germany. Peter Durer has become familiar with a plot to assassinate the young head of the Nazi party, Adolf Hitler. Some men have decided that assassination is the only way to stop this fanatical leader and the party. Could the assassination of Adolf Hitler have been a justifiable act in 1930? Should Durer have joined these conspirators?

Questions for Discussion

1. What overall lessons might we learn about the mood of Germany during these years?
2. A very critical omission in this exercise is the exploration of people's values. From what you have read, what kinds of values were becoming popular in Germany at this time?
3. What do these examples intimate about the role of law, the police, and the courts in pre-Nazi Germany?

The Rise of Hitler

Sefton Delmar

The Nazi party grew out of increased dissatisfaction with the Weimar Republic. In 1920, the party was a small group of disgruntled veterans taken over by a young Adolf Hitler. Ten years later, it would become one of the largest groups in the Reichstag.

Its leader, Adolf Hitler, was born in Austria in 1889. He was the son of a minor civil servant and a soft-spoken young woman. His relationship with his brutal, drunken father was very strained until the father died in 1903. Hitler's desire to be an artist was challenged by his father who wanted his son to become a civil servant. Hitler's relationship with his mother was marked by closeness and affection.

Hitler's career in education was a series of failures. Thrown out of a monastery school, he would quit high school before he was 16. In 1907, Hitler left for Vienna to live what would be the life of a tramp. In the same year, his mother died of cancer. Despite these depressing aspects of his life, Hitler would learn much from the general environment of anti-Semitism in Vienna. Dr. Karl Lueger, the mayor of Vienna, used anti-Semitism for his own political ends. George von Schonerer, Pan-German nationalist, was a bitter anti-Semite. Hitler would learn much from these men, which he combined with the romantic nationalism he had learned as a youth. Hitler devoured the "western" novels of the German writer Karl May, which depicted the great Indian fighters of the American West. He loved the music of Richard Wagner that emphasized the need for great German heroes to combat evil in the world. Wagner himself would see that evil in the Jews. It would be Hitler who would carry out these ideas.

Throughout the 1920s, the Nazis slowly gained in strength. But it was not until the late 1920s, which saw the combination of a decaying economic order and financial support of the Nazis by some wealthy industrialists, that the Nazis gained significant popular support. Hitler joined forces with Alfred Hugenberg and the Nationalist party. He also received support from Erhard Milch of Lufthansa, Fritz Tyssen of the German steel trust, Emil Kidorf of the German coal industry and others.

In the Reichstag elections of 1928, the Nazis received about 800,000 votes and only 12 seats. By 1930, the Nazis gained over 6 million votes and 107 seats. In 1932, the Nazis received almost 14 million votes, 120 seats, and became the largest political party.

In 1932, Adolf Hitler ran against General von Hindenburg for the Presidency of Germany. Chartering an aircraft from Lufthansa, Hitler became the first politician to make full use of the airplane for campaigning. Hitler received over 13 million votes although Hindenburg won the election with over 19 million.

What followed were months of political scheming. A member of the Hindenburg clique, Franz von Papen, tried to make a deal with Hitler. Von Papen believed that Hitler could be controlled if he were brought into the Hindenburg government.

This brief selection describes the few years before the actual rise of Hitler and the Nazis to power.

By the beginning of 1931 Germany had the message 'Wanted, a dictator' written all over it. And it was the army, represented by Kurt von Schleicher, the astute office-desk general who ran the political department of the Defence Ministry, who was making the appointment. At the moment he was trying out Dr. Brüning. But . . . Brüning lacked appeal for the mass of the German public. Another candidate was already after his job: Adolf Hitler.

Two things Hitler needed to secure the position: the backing of Schleicher and the support of the German masses. Hitler had a key to both in his Storm Troops. The German masses were dazzled by the Storm Troops. That had been shown in the elections when Storm Troop parades through towns and villages before the meetings had been the Nazis' biggest drawing-card at their election rallies. The army for its part would welcome the Storm Troops as a reservoir of soldiers and a valuable contribution to Germany's rearmament.

There was one man who could both organise the Storm Troops for Hitler and put him in touch with Schleicher: Ernst Röhm, a one-time Reichswehr captain and Free Corps leader, who had been one of Hitler's closest associates in the early days of the Nazi movement. . . . Within eighteen months of his return, Röhm, aided by the bank crash of 13th July 1931 and the rapid escalation in unemployment which followed (the 3,000,000 unemployed of 1930 had become 6,500,000 by the end of 1932), had expanded the numbers of Storm Troops from 80,000 men to 600,000. . . .

On 4th January 1933, a closed, curtained car called for Hitler who was staying in Godesberg near Bonn. It took him to the Cologne house of the banker Baron Kurt von Schröder. There he met Papen and a new alliance between the two was secretly formed. At the same time the banker Schröder obligingly arranged to refill the Nazi party's empty money bags. This, as the historian Karl Dietrich Bracher has written, was the hour in which the Third Reich was born.

Last Lap

Now Hitler concentrated all the power of his party machine on the forthcoming elections in the tiny state of Lippe. Hitler treated this election as though it was a major event. He toured the villages and addressed the public in tents put up in farm pastures. The elections, on 15th January 1933, were a great success for the Nazis. Hitler, in jubilant mood, was certain that he had turned the corner. The party had polled 39,000 votes, more than forty per cent of the total electorate. The anti-Schleicher clique, led by Oskar von Hindenburg, the Field Marshal's son, were able to persuade the old man that Hitler was by no means a "burst bubble". . . .

Hugenberg too, who had been denied the Ministry of Economics by Schleicher, now joined in the Papen-Hitler cabal. On the morning of 23rd January Schleicher proposed to Hindenburg that he should declare a state of national emergency, dissolve the Reichstag, and send it on indefinite leave. Hindenburg refused. On 28th January Schleicher asked for a simple dissolution of the Reichstag. Again Hindenburg refused. "Then, your Excellency," said Schleicher, "I may as well resign." "You may," said Hindenburg. Before he took his farewell Schleicher gave Hindenburg one last piece of advice "Don't make Papen Chancellor. It will provoke a general strike and I am afraid we can't rely on the army to put down the strike by force."

Even now it looked as though there might still be a last minute hitch to prevent the fruition of the Papen-Hitler pact. Certainly Hindenburg had agreed that Hitler should be Chancellor, but Hitler was refusing to accept the other side of the deal: that Papen in addition to becoming Vice-Chancellor should also be dictator of Prussia, thus having under his control two-thirds of Germany and the largest police force in the Reich. . . .

By eleven o'clock that evening they had hatched out the compromise under which Hitler became Reich Chancellor and Papen Vice-Chancellor, while Goering would be Minister of the Interior in Prussia with control of the police. In the morning Hindenburg formally appointed the new cabinet. After fourteen years of struggle Hitler had at least reached his goal. He was Chancellor—though not yet absolute dictator. As the Storm Troops marched past the presidential palace that night, the old Field Marshal stood at his window tapping his stick in time with the music of the bands. Hitler stood at a window of the Chancellery, smiling and saluting with outstretched arm the singing and cheering crowds below.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why didn't the Communists win the upper hand in Germany after the economic crash?
2. Franz von Papen believed he could control Hitler by bringing him into his government as chancellor. Thus, Hitler came to power legally. Why do you think Von Papen thought he could control Hitler?
3. How important was the S.A. in the rise of Hitler?
4. What role did Kurt Schröder play in the rise of Adolf Hitler?

The Racial Question

Racist attitudes in Germany developed from the idea that the Aryan-Nordic race descended from the ancient Teutonic Knights of Northwestern Europe. To the Nazi, the Teuton stood for goodness, strength, courage, and beauty. Although the Aryan myth had existed prior to the Nazis, they turned it into a reality which was readily applied to society. The Nazis referred to themselves as the "master race."

The following excerpt reviews Hitler's view of the Jewish people. It was Adolf Hitler who further developed an anti-Semitism built upon biology and race rather than upon religion, economics, and politics. The lessons learned in Vienna under Karl Lueger and Carl Schonerer were now applied to the Reich.

The reading is followed by an illustration from only one of the many editions of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," a forged document which claimed that Jews plotted to gain control of the world. Editions of the "Protocols" are still printed and distributed in Latin America, Africa, and the Middle East. Ousted Uganda dictator, Idi Amin, used to give copies to visitors as did leaders of some Arab states.

Hitler's War Against the Jews

David A. Altshuler

Hitler assembled his ideas about the Jews in *Mein Kampf* . . . he explained race as the most important principle of human life, and he tried to show that since the beginning, history was a story of the conflict between the Aryans and the Jews. "The racial question," he wrote, "gives the key not only to world history, but to all human culture." Therefore, civilizations rise and fall depending on how they take care of the "racial preservation of the nation." "In the blood alone resides the strength as well as the weakness of man," so the "resurrection of Germany" depends on "the clearest knowledge of the racial problem and hence of the Jewish problem."

The "Aryan" race was the champion of "human cultural development." By their nature and their "blood," the "Aryans" were chosen to rule the world. The whole existence of human civilization, then, depended on safeguarding the purity of the "Aryan" race. . . .

According to Hitler, the state had only one purpose—watching over the purity of the racial community. The German people "must set race in the center of all life." They have "the task, not only of assembling and preserving the most valuable stocks of basic racial elements in this people, but slowly and surely of raising them to a dominant position."

The only obstacle for Hitler to overcome was the Jew. Hitler saw the Aryan as perfect, the Jew as totally evil. As the saying went, "Whoever knows the Jew knows the Devil." Thus, Jews were regarded not only as strange and different from Germans, but also as the worst type of human beings.

Hitler claimed that the "vileness" of Jews was part of their blood, that their "race" was inferior physically, mentally, and culturally. Jews, he said, "polluted" modern life with filth and disease. They "poisoned" others with germs, but somehow managed to preserve themselves. This myth that Jews carry disease goes back to the supersitions of the Middle Ages, when Jews were accused of spreading plagues and poisoning wells. Even as late as the seventeenth century, an outbreak of disease in Vienna was explained as the kind "caused by evil spirits, by Jews, by gravediggers, and by witches." Hitler believed that Jewish "poison" had defiled German family life, culture, and the press.

How had the Jews succeeded in "defiling" Germany? Hitler believed they had done so by lying, by claiming that Judaism is a religion. "Actually," according to Hitler, "they are a race—and what a race!" He believed that Jews had no language or culture of their own, that they lived off other cultures and races until they destroyed them. The Jew's ultimate goal, Hitler wrote, was to conquer the world, to achieve "domination over the nations."

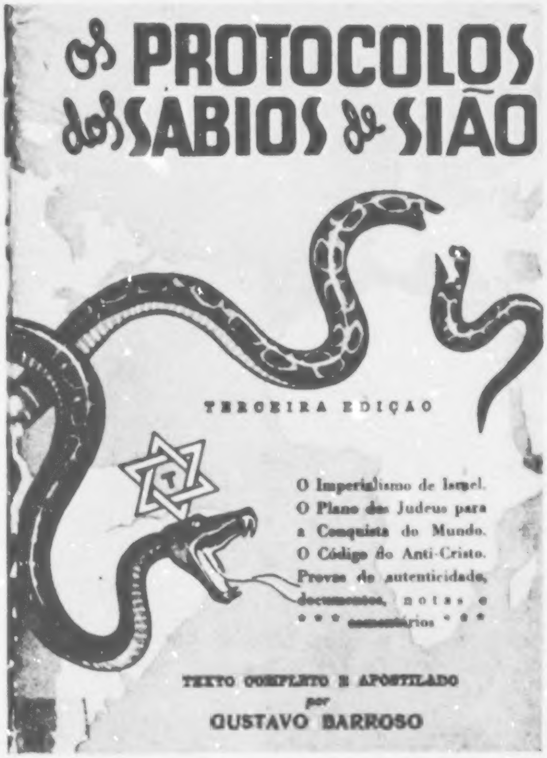
From the idea of the Jew as an evil parasite, a bloodsucker contaminating the Aryan race, it was an easy step to add the notion that Jews were destroying German economic life. Hitler described Jewish business life as follows: "The spider was slowly beginning to suck the blood out of the people's pores." That image of the Jews as a selfish, greedy businessman was the one anti-Semites had used for nearly a century.

Hitler saw Jews as trying to master the world not only in business but also in labor unions, not only in the press but also in the government. As for democracy, he wrote that "only the Jew can praise an institution which is as dirty and false as he himself." Hitler viewed Marxism, which in Russia became Communism, as a Jewish movement. Marxism, too, he said, "systematically plans to hand the world over to the Jews."

Hitler's "evidence" for this theory of Jewish plans to master the world came from the history of Russia. The Bolsheviks, a party which brought violent revolution to Russia in 1918, included many Jews, most notably the leader Leon Trotsky. Hitler believed the forged *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, and he wrote that the Jewish "conspiracy" went even further. "In Russian Bolshevism we must see the attempt undertaken by the Jews in the twentieth century to achieve world domination." All Russia, he believed, had somehow become captive of the Jews. A similar fate, he warned, faced Germany, unless it showed enough national will to resist. Hitler concluded that the Russian Empire must necessarily collapse because of this supposed "Jewish domination." His ideas of race and space, therefore, led to a foreign policy for Germany which demanded an all-out fight against Soviet Russia.

Mein Kampf, then, is a vision of a worldwide conflict betweeen Aryans and Jews. It is Hitler's own plan for the triumph of "good" over "evil." He saw himself as the Messiah who would save all people from the Jews and the Devil. "Hence today I believe that I am acting in accordance with the will of the Almighty Creator: by defending myself against the Jew, I am fighting for the work of the Lord."

Hitler's image of himself was linked to his unlimited and unending fear and hatred of the Jew. "Two worlds face one another—the men of God and men of Satan! The Jew is the anti-man, the creature of another god." The title, *Mein Kampf*, means "my struggle." After Hitler wrote of his battle against the Jews, he went out to fight that battle. . . .


Os PROTOCOLOS dos SABIOS de SIÃO
TERCEIRA EDIÇAO
O Imperialismo de Israel.
O Plano dos Judeus para a Conquista do Mundo.
O Código do Anti-Cristo.
Provas de autenticidade, documentos, notas e commentarios
TEXTO COMPLETO E APOSTILADO
por
GUSTAVO BARROSO

Cover of Brazilian edition of *Protocols*, São Paulo, 1932.

Questions for Discussion

1. German society prior to the Nazi takeover was one of the most educated, cultured, and advanced in the world. How can vou explain the widespread acceptance of racist theories in Germany?
2. How are Jews described? With what animal is the Jew associated in the illustration?
3. Who today promotes the distribution of the "Protocols" (or uses its language) and why?
4. Is there an "Aryan" race?

Why Did the Nazis Come to Power in Germany?

In this unit we have read about the rise of Nazism in Germany. Now it's time to sort out the reasons. Below are ten factors that contributed to the rise of Nazism. Rank the following in the order of their importance.

1. *One man*, Adolf Hitler, was most responsible. His own charisma and ability to lead the masses seduced the German people.

2. European *power politics* was most responsible. Germany responded resentfully to the vicious attempt at Versailles to emasculate the German nation. The Nazis

presented themselves as the best answer to this threat of castration by other European nations.

3. Nazism was the logical outgrowth of a history of authoritarianism and militarism in Germany. Weimar was a historical accident for which the German people were totally unprepared. The Fuhrer principle satisfied what was a *historical anti-democratic need* of the German people. The Nazis represented the traditional values in German history which were acceptable to a large percentage of Germans during the 1920s.
4. Nazism rose in direct response to *fear* of a possible takeover by Bolshevism *(Communism)* stimulated by the Russian Revolution of 1917. The growth of the German Communist Party drove many moderate Germans to support the Nazis as the only alternative capable of stopping the Communists.
5. Nazism was the result of the attempt by big business and nationalist forces to stem the possibility of a socialist takeover in Germany. They feared the growth of worker consciousness resulting in loss of their own power. Thus, they *bankrolled* Hitler, paying for an enormous advertising campaign that was very successful.
6. Nazism was actually the consequence of the "*sick psyche*" of the German people. The Germans suffered from certain psychological conflicts that led to their positive response to the psychopathic call of the Nazis.
7. Nazism rode to power on the heels of a two thousand-year-old tradition of *anti-Semitism*. The Nazis claimed that they would finally solve this "Jewish problem" in Germany once and for all. The German people, not unaccustomed to anti-Semitism, responded affirmatively to the claims of the Jew-hating Nazis.
8. Nazism was the direct result of a *political plot* by aristocrat Franz von Papen and others to control Hitler's growing power from inside the Weimar government.
9. Nazism was the result of a *declining economy*, inflation and depression, that lead inevitably to its victory.
10. Nazism was a *spiritual revolt* against the Enlightenment idea that mankind could change its own nature. Nazism appealed to those who revolted against the individualism, rationalism, and mass rule (democracy) of the nineteenth century which seemed to bring Germany to the edge of ruin. Nazism expressed a basic longing for the past, for a more ordered time unlike the liberal chaos of Weimar. Many Germans held these beliefs.
11. Nazism was the direct result of the *evil nature* of human beings, of the basic desire for authority and dominance that lies buried in every person. The Nazis gave people an opportunity to express their most basic instincts: to destroy and to kill.

From Persecution to Mass Murder

This unit examines the inexorable history leading to the Nazi decision to murder millions of people in what they called the "Final Solution." Efficiency and terror were merged to produce the most massive technology of death in the twentieth century. Industry cooperated and benefited from the policy of mass murder. Each step of the process is reviewed from the first attempts to use law to define, segregate, and exploit Jews to the later program of deportation, ghettoization, mass shootings, and ultimately the gas chambers and death camps. Life in the ghetto and the death camps is analyzed, especially in relation to the difficult choices made by individuals under severe stress. Other victims of the Nazi assault, such as Gypsies, homosexuals, and certain religious groups, are discussed. Once under the dominion of the Nazis, individuals were subject to psychological dehumanization and physical threats. The use of slave labor by German big business and the experiments conducted by German doctors indicate that the "Final Solution" was not the work of insane people but of detached, middle-class people who carried out their orders in businesslike fashion and believed in what they did.

Manipulating the Law

David A. Altshuler

Adolf Hitler and the Nazis came to power on January 30, 1933. This new German government set in motion a series of events that resulted in the gradual denial of all basic civil and economic rights of German Jews. The victorious Nazis made Jews the target of violent attacks as part of their victory celebration. These initial attacks soon led to more formal and legal methods, which included boycotts and intimidation of Jewish businesses as well as laws that restricted the social, political, and economic life of the Jews. Over 400 anti-Jewish laws and decrees were passed by the Nazi government.

The Nazis used the mysterious burning of the Reichstag building as an excuse to pass the Enabling Law, which made Adolf Hitler dictator of Germany. He outlawed all political parties except the Nazis. Many of those opposed to the Nazis, especially Communists and Socialists, were placed in the first concentration camps created in Germany. In this reading, David Altshuler describes how Hitler and the Nazi government used political power to deny Jews human freedom and dignity.

Indeed, Hitler was able to use the law even more effectively than violence as a weapon to eliminate Jews from government service and public life. Eventually, the Third Reich enacted some four hundred laws and decrees, . . . the first of these laws barred "non-Aryans" and political opponents of the Nazis from civil service . . . Other laws during this same month, April 1933, pushed Jews out of legal practice, university careers, and positions in the arts and the press.

To simplify this procedure, a law passed on April 11 defined exactly what was meant by "non-Aryan." A "non-Aryan" was anyone "descended from non-Aryan, especially Jewish, parents or grandparents," even if only one parent or grandparent was a "non-Aryan." From then on, government workers had to prove their lineage (descent) with documents like birth and marriage certificates, and a special "expert on racial research" was employed by the Minister of the Interior to judge "doubtful" genealogies ("Family Trees"). The Nazi definition was simple: a Jew is a Jew is a Jew—that is, down to the third generation. It did not matter if one of your grandparents converted to Protestantism and your mother married a non-Jewish military hero. The grandchild of a Jew would always be a Jew. . . .

Having singled the Jews out, Hitler used the remaining months of 1933 to institute new anti-Semitic laws. Kosher slaughtering of animals was forbidden. The citizenship of Jews whose families had immigrated to Germany from Eastern Europe was revoked. Farmers with any trace of Jewish blood were denied all rights of family property inheritance. These and other measures had in just a few months turned the dreams of popular anti-Semitism into reality. And Hitler had won many friends by ousting Jews from important jobs and giving those positions to loyal Nazi party supporters.

Now Hitler turned to solidifying his own power. The law, the courts and judges, the police, and the press all bent to his will. All sources of opposition had been crushed or had collapsed. Protestant and Catholic clergy traded their blessings for the right to keep their religious ceremonies and institutions. Most professors and intellectuals, like most lawyers and judges, sacrificed sense and honor, submitted to the Nazi state and enhanced it with their prestige. The army, believing it would be restored to grandeur, climbed on the bandwagon.

President Hindenburg died in August 1934, and Hitler "legally" became both president and chancellor. By 1935, Hitler had succeeded in making Germany a unified and militarized vehicle of personal power. In May 1935, he assured Germany's European neighbors and the world that he wanted power only for peace. The government even issued official statements condemning mob violence against Jews, probably because Hitler considered terror in the streets ungovernable.

But on September 15, 1935, the most vicious anti-Jewish laws, the so-called "Nuremberg Laws" were adopted unanimously by the Reichstag. "Purity of German blood" became a legal category, and marriage between Germans and Jews was outlawed. Hitler explained in *Mein Kampf* that such marriages would be as evil as those "between man and ape." More serious still was the Reich Citizenship Law, which made race the determining factor in excluding Jews from any citizenship rights. Within a few short years, questions of race would make the difference between life and death.

During the next few years, up until 1938, no substantial anti-Jewish legislation was enacted. Instead, the SS, the most prestigious and dreaded branch of the Nazi movement, increasingly began to take full power over the Jews.

Questions for Discussion

1. How did the Nazi government deny civil and economic rights to Jews in Germany?
2. Why do you believe that there was no major resistance to these Nazi policies by the non-Jewish Germans?
3. The German government under Adolf Hitler is an example of how the law can be used as a weapon against innocent people. Has this occurred in our own society? Explain.

Definitions

Kosher—food that is ritually fit to eat according to Jewish dietary laws

Nuremberg Laws—a series of German laws that systematically denied civil, economic, and social rights to Jews

Reich Citizenship Law—one of the Nuremberg Laws; took away citizenship from Jews

Jungvolk/Way to School

Hans Richter

These selections from Hans Richter's novel, *Friedrich*, express the mood in Nazi Germany in 1933. The author was a member of the *Jungvolk*, a Nazi organization for boys from 10 to 14 years of age. Much of their time was devoted to physical education, marching, and learning Nazi values. Richter observed the indoctrination of youth and the boycott of Jewish business at close range in the early Nazi years.

I ran down the stairs. At the front door, I pressed the Schneiders' bell: three times short, once long, that was our signal. Then I sauntered through the front garden past Polycarp and walked to the corner.

Friedrich arrived almost at once."Thanks a lot," he said breathlessly. "Thanks so much for fetching me."

Side by side, we walked in the direction of the park. We were early and didn't have to hurry.

"I'm so glad, you know!" Friedrich began afresh. "But you mustn't tell my father. He doesn't like my going there. You know, I saw you all marching through town with your flag and singing. I think that's really great. I'd love to take part, but Father won't let me join the *Jungvolk*. Still, maybe he'll change his mind after a while. . . ."

"What's on for today?" asked Friedrich. "More war games?"

I shook my head. "Wednesdays are club nights. We can bring strangers only on Wednesdays. But you'd better not mention right away that you're a Jew."

Friedrich put his arm around my shoulder and whispered to himself, "Oh, I'm so pleased!"

"Our squad leader's a great fellow," I told him. "He's been a member for ages. You can see his neckerchief pinned to the wall of the clubhouse; it has a cut right through the middle. He wore it during a raid. A communist tried to stab him, but his knife only cut the cloth and he wasn't harmed."

Friedrich fished around in his trouser pocket. "I almost forgot about this!" he shouted, pulling out a black, three-cornered scarf. "I swiped it from Mother's first aid box," he said, smiling.

We stopped at the next park bench. I showed Friedrich how to roll his scarf according to regulations, then I placed it underneath his white shirt collar so that only a corner hung out in back. I was just about to tie a knot in front when Friedrich pulled a ring from his trouser pocket. It was made of brown leather and had a swastika stamped on it. Not even our squad leader owned such a grand ring.

Friedrich proudly slid the ring over the rolled ends of the triangular scarf all the way to his neck. When he saw how I envied him his ring he was still more delighted. He pushed out his chest, fell into step with me, and together we marched through the old fortress gate to the parade grounds.

The others were already in the courtyard; they didn't pay any attention to us. Most of them wore short pants and any old striped or checked shirt; only a few owned the regulation brown shirt. Strictly speaking, no one was properly dressed. The only thing everyone had in common was the triangular neckerchief with the corner showing below the shirt collar in back.

With shining eyes Friedrich leaned against the wall beside me. "I'm so glad I can be here!" he said, touching his neckerchief ring.

My platoon leader arrived at last. He was about fifteen and wore the regulation uniform we all longed for.

I reported that I had brought a new boy. "In order!" he said. "But I don't have time now. We'll take care of it later!" Then he ordered us all to fall in line. We fell in line.

I pushed Friedrich into the back row next to me.

"Right turn! Close it up! Single file!"

Our club house was a windowless room in the old fortress. A strong bulb dangled from the ceiling by two wires. Entering, one's eyes met the picture of Adolf Hitler on the wall facing the door. Underneath the picture our squad leader's famous scarf was stretched to full width. The many fingers that had reverently passed over the fabled cut had widened it to a hole so large you could stick your head through it.

On the right wall hung two crossed poles, their black pennants fastened with pins to the wall. The white embroidered victory rune, sign of the *Jungvolk*, looked resplendent in the center of the black pennant.

On the wall beside the door, a platoon leader had tried his hand at maxims in watercolor. "Be more than you seem!" was one, and a second read: "Fight for your life!"

Friedrich shivered with excitement as he sat down beside me on the wooden bench. "Great!" he whispered. "I'm so glad I'll be joining the *Jungvolk* and become a *Pimpf*."

We had hardly sat down when my platoon leader bellowed: "Attention!" Everyone jumped up and stood facing Hitler's picture. The platoon leader spoke to our squad leader.

With heavy tread our squad leader stepped beneath the picture. He lifted his hand. "*Sieg Heil*, boys!"

"*Sieg Heil, Fähnleinführer!*" we replied.

Friedrich shouted it with such enthusiasm his voice broke and tears came into his eyes.

"Sit down!" ordered the squad leader, and above the din of dropping onto the benches, he began: "Boys, I brought someone special to our club evening tonight. He is Special Delegate Gelko from the District Office of our party. He wants to talk to you about something very important."

Only then did I notice the hunchback. He was so short he didn't stand out among the boys. He was covered from head to toe in brown; he even wore brown boots. The visor of his cap—also brown—hid his face. . . .

In the end, the platoon commander brought an empty orange crate. The hunchback climbed onto it and began his speech.

"*Pimpfe of our Führer!*" The voice was unpleasantly shrill. "I have been delegated to talk to you today about the Jews. You all know Jews. But you all know too little about them. This will be different an hour from now. You will then know what a danger Jews represent for us and our nation. . . ."

"With a large knife," he said, "a knife as long as my arm, the Jew priest steps beside the poor cow. Very slowly, he raised the knife. The beast feels the threat of death; it bellows, tries to wrench free. But the Jew knows no mercy. Quick as a flash he drives the wide knife into the animal's neck. Blood spurts; it befouls everything. The animal is in a frenzy, its eyes fixed, staring in horror. But the Jew knows no pity; he doesn't shorten its suffering; he wallows in the pain of the bleeding animal; he wants that blood. And he stands by and watches the animal slowly bleeding to its pitiful death. It's called kosher butchering!—The God of the Jews demands it!"

Friedrich bent so far forward I was afraid he'd topple off the bench. His face was pale, his breathing labored; his hands clutched his knees.

The hunchback told of murdered Christian children, of Jewish crimes, of wars.

Just listening made me shudder.

Finally the speaker ended: "One sentence, one sentence only I want to hammer into your brains; I will repeat it until it comes out of your ears, and repeat it: The Jews are our affliction! And again: The Jews are our affliction. And another time: *The Jews are our affliction!*"

Sweating and exhausted, the little special delegate stood on his orange box. It was completely quiet in the room.

Then the hunchback pointed to Friedrich. "What is the sentence?" he asked him.

Friedrich didn't move.

"What is the sentence?" the speaker asked more sharply. Friedrich sat stiffly and hunched forward beside me on the bench. . . .

Friedrich swallowed.

The hunchback stood before him. His eyes stabbed at Friedrich. He grabbed his scarf and slowly pushed the ring upwards.

"What is the sentence?" he barked.

In a faint voice Friedrich said, "The Jews are our affliction."

The hunchback hauled Friedrich up from the bench in one movement. "Stand up when I talk to you!" he screamed in his face. "And reply loudly if you please!"

Friedrich stood up straight. He was still pale. In a clear voice he proclaimed: "The Jews are our affliction."

There wasn't a sound. Friedrich turned around. The ring was in the hunchback's hand.

Friedrich left the club unhindered. I stayed where I was.

* * *

It was Saturday, April 1, 1933. We were coming out of school. Friedrich said, "My mother dragged me to the doctor yesterday afternoon, you know. She wanted him to wash out my ears. He didn't, though."

"Why not?" I asked.

Friedrich laughed. "He said it wasn't necessary yet. To start with I'm to take this restorative he prescribed. It's quite sweet and not bad. He told me three spoonfuls a day would make me so strong I could stand having the stuff taken out of my ears."

I looked curiously at Friedrich. "And?"

Friedrich shrugged. "I took five because it tasted so good."

He still hadn't given me the right answer, so I asked again, "What about your ears?"

Friedrich pushed out his lower lip. Then he said, "Mother cleaned my ears last night."

I still wasn't satisfied. "Did you scream?"

Eyes cast down, Friedrich admitted, "Only a little."

Silently we walked side by side. It was a Saturday like any other Saturday—the traffic moved smoothly, women were doing their weekend marketing, and we had almost no homework.

"Which doctor do you go to?" I asked Friedrich.

"We'll be going by his house any minute now," he answered, pointing to an apartment house.

"That's his sign," he said.

A doctor's white sign hung beside the front door. In flourishing black script it read:

DR. JACOB ASKENASE
SPECIALIST FOR CHILDREN'S AILMENTS. . . .
OFFICE HOURS: 9 AM-12 NOON AND 3 PM-7 PM
DAILY EXCEPT SATURDAY.

Across it, someone had scrawled the word "Jew" in red paint.

Friedrich shook his head. "Who could have done that?" He touched the paint with his finger. "It's still wet."

Friedrich looked around. "Come on," he said, stepping through the outside door and pressing a bell beside the name "Dr. Askenase."

We waited.

"He has no office hours today," I pointed out. "Maybe he isn't in."

We were just going to leave when the buzzer sounded. Friedrich threw his back against the inner door until it opened. We climbed just a few steps and stood outside the door with the doctor's sign.

A middle-aged man in a dark suit appeared. A yarmulke was on his head. When he saw Friedrich, he smiled and asked, "Well, Friedrich, any flowers growing out of your ears yet?"

Friedrich blushed, and in a faint voice he replied, "No, my mother cleaned them yesterday."

The doctor nodded. "There you are," he said. "I knew that good medicine would make you sensible. Or don't you like it?"

"Oh yes," Friedrich quickly agreed, licking his lips. Then he added, "This is my friend. You'll have to prescribe some for him one day too."

Dr. Askenase shook my hand. "In that case, you and your mother will have to come and see me," he said. He went on, "But you didn't come about that, did you? Friedrich knows I don't see patients on Saturday, don't you?"

Friedrich seemed confused. "We wanted to let you know . . ." he began.

". . . that someone scrawled the word 'Jew' all over your sign downstairs," I finished for him.

"I know!" said the doctor. "I read it. Don't worry, I'll remove it tomorrow." Dr. Askenase had turned serious. He lightly touched our hair and shook our hands again. "Thank you for coming. And now get home quickly." He was no longer smiling as he closed the door behind us.

When we came out of his house, we saw people had gathered on the next corner.

"An accident!" guessed Friedrich.

We unbuckled the satchels on our backs and put them under our arms.

I bounded ahead. At the corner was a small stationery shop. The shop belonged to a little old man with a pointed beard. We bought our notebooks in his shop. The old man was always kind and friendly. Often he took a pfennig off the price and gave us some candy as well.

Sometimes we had made fun of the old man and his goat's voice, bleating loudly as we came down his stairs. But he never took this amiss. Indeed, it sometimes occurred to us that he would bleat extra loud for our sakes.

Outside his shop a crowd had collected. The people stood pressed so closely together that one couldn't see what was going on. A few were laughing and jeering, others looked serious.

We shoved our way to the front of the throng to see better. No one hindered us; a young woman even gave us a push forward.

Beneath the sign ABRAHAM ROSENTHAL, STATIONERY a man in gray breeches straddled the entrance to the shop. He wore an armband with a swastika on the left sleeve of his yellow shirt.

In his right hand he held a broomstick, an ordinary broomstick, and fastened to it was a cardboard sign that read, in clumsy letters:

DON'T BUY FROM JEWS.

An old woman carrying a worn shopping bag walked up to the sign. From her coat pocket she pulled a pair of glasses that were missing one ear piece. Holding them close to her eyes, she tried to read the sign.

The sign carrier pretended not to notice the old woman, staring right over her at the crowd.

The woman put her glasses back in her pocket. Searchingly she pattered back and forth in front of the man with the armband; finally, she stopped and said quietly: "Kindly let me pass!"

Without moving and without looking at the woman, the picketer recited in a monotone: "DON'T BUY FROM JEWS!"

"But I want to!" the old woman insisted; and when the man didn't budge, she squeezed between him and the wall and flitted down the stairs and into the shop.

The bystanders grinned. In the back rows, some even laughed out loud.

The man with the sign didn't move a muscle; only his left hand, thumb stuck behind the buckle of his belt, clenched into a fist.

Shortly afterward the old woman pulled herself up the stairs. A roll of blue wrapping paper for schoolbook covers peeked out of her bag. Smiling the woman—leading with her shoulder—pushed herself past the man. With a nod, she told him, "Thank you very much, young man." Holding herself very straight, she walked past the crowd, carrying the shopping bag in a way that everyone could see the wrapping paper she had bought. Nearsightedly, she smiled at them all and walked away.

Abraham Rosenthal stepped into the doorway of his basement shop. His face serious, he peered at the people outside his shop.

Politely Friedrich greeted Herr Rosenthal so pointedly that no one could fail to notice.

I merely nodded to him.

The little man with the pointed beard answered with a silent bow. Through clenched teeth the sign bearer snarled at us: "Get away from here, go on!"

Friedrich looked him up and down and said, "We can stand here as long as you can!"

The man pushed out his lower jaw; taking a deep breath he asked in a threatening voice: "Want to be fresh, brat?"

A few people walked away, the rest drew back a step. All of a sudden it was utterly quiet; no one talked, no one laughed.

We stood alone. The man breathed hard. The cardboard sign shook.

I saw a hand settling on Friedrich's shoulder at the same time that I felt a touch on mine.

We both turned around.

Behind us stood Friedrich's father. He said: "Come!"

Then he took us home.

Questions for Discussion

1. In what ways did the Jungvolk prepare young boys for their adult roles in Nazi Germany? How would you explain the success the Nazis had with young Germans?
2. What happened to Friedrich at the youth meeting?
3. Why would Friedrich want to attend the Jungvolk meetings?
4. Why did the two boys stop to tell Dr. Askenase about what happened to his sign?
5. What is your reaction to the old woman who insists on going into the Jewish stationery store? Why does she do this?

Definition

Yarmulke—skull cap worn by traditional Jews.

An Olympic Athlete's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

There are few situations in life that do not have as a component the necessity to make a decision based on moral and political values.

Anthony Peterson is 21 years old and a sprinter at the University of Pennsylvania. Anthony has been in training—for over two years—for the day he will participate in the 1936 Olympics in Munich, Germany. He is very excited about representing his country and about the glory that may be his.

However, much controversy surrounds this

Olympics. Adolf Hitler has become Chancellor of Germany, and the Nazis have been persecuting Jews and all sorts of leftist political groups. Hitler has been gearing up for the Olympics where he intends to prove that the Germans are the most physically perfect "race" in the world. The Olympics will be a great propaganda event for the new German government.

Anthony has been approached by a group of athletes who have been reevaluating the situation. They tell Anthony that they should not participate in the Olympics in Germany because to do so is to legitimize Hitler's policies. After all, America's participation in the world Olympics is not as important as taking a moral stand against the Nazi policies.

Anthony must decide what to do. Should he participate in the 1936 Olympics?

Questions for Discussion

1. What alternative courses of action are available to Anthony? What are the consequences of each alternative?
2. Does Anthony have a responsibility to his teammates? To himself?
3. Relate this dilemma to the decision faced by American Olympic athletes who were asked by their government to boycott the 1980 Summer Olympics in Moscow. What are the similarities? Contrasts? What should American athletes have done?
4. Some critics argue that "sports boycotts" are symbolic, meaningless substitutes for real action that can be taken by governments. Such people believe that a boycott of the 1936 or 1980 Olympics would not have accomplished anything. How do you react to this argument?
5. At the 1972 Olympics held in Berlin, Palestinian terrorists attacked the Israeli pavilion and murdered many members of their Olympic team. In response to this event, Olympic officials held a ceremony in the stadium in which there were two minutes of silence in memory of the slain Israeli athletes. How do you react to this response?

The Search for Countries of Refuge

In the first selection from Arthur Morse's *While Six Million Died*, the author discusses the important 1938 meeting of the thirty-two nations to deal with the "Jewish Question." Some historians feel that the Evian Conference taught the Nazis that the world was willing to do very little about the persecution of Jews in Germany. Most nations were unwilling to increase their immigration quotas. In 1924, in a period of extreme hostility towards immigrants from Eastern Europe, the United States Congress passed the National Origins Act which drastically reduced the rate of immigration, especially from Eastern and Southern Europe. This law was reaffirmed at Evian.

The anti-immigrant sentiment was maintained in the Depression atmosphere of the Thirties. Organizations such as the Veterans of Foreign Wars and the American Medical Association expressed their fears about immigration. Yet, it would be a mistake to think that the Depression was the sole cause of these feelings. The combination of isolationism and anti-Semitism, as well as economic self-interest, helped produce the reaction of the 1930s. The map from Martin Gilbert's *The Holocaust* shows how difficult it was for Jews to leave Europe and settle in other parts of the world.

The Evian Conference

Arthur Morse

On May 12 France approved of Evian-les-Bains as the site of the refugee conference. The luxurious resort on the French shore of Lake Geneva would provide excellent accommodations for representatives of the thirty-two nations which would attend.

The United States announced that Myron C. Taylor, former chairman of the U.S. Steel Corporation, would be its principal representative at the conference. . . . The precarious situation of the Jews was held in abeyance between May and July. Nothing was done to ease the rigidity of the immigration procedures, which proved particularly tragic for a thirty-six-year-old German Jewish woman named Luise Wolf.

Luise Wolf had arrived in New York on a six-week visitor's permit. During her stay she hoped to obtain an affidavit attesting to her means of support so she could assure the United States of America that she would not become one of its public charges. Then she would become a bona-fide immigrant.

In Munich she had worked as a saleswoman to support her sick mother and herself, but was discharged as a non-Aryan. At the Clara de Hirsch Home for Working Girls, where she lived in New York, she was regarded as a well-educated, quiet person, but somehow she had not been able to obtain her affidavit. She was scheduled to return to Germany on May 27. On May 25 Luise Wolf leaped to her death from a fifth-floor window of the Home. A return ticket to Germany and $15 were found in her purse.

Such tragedies seemed needless to many Americans, especially since U.S. immigration quotas were unfilled. On June 7, 1938, a delegation of the Jewish People's Committee for United Action Against Fascism and Anti-Semitism visited the White House and presented 120,000 signatures on petitions proposing that the unused quotas from any country be made available for the admission of refugees from other countries. Presidential secretary Marvin McIntyre met the group, accepted the petitions and then sent a note to Sumner Welles:

"Personally I do not see much necessity for any reply except that a more or less courteous but stereotyped answer signed by me may head off insistence in the future for a specific reply. What do you think."

Welles thought so too.

A few months later the Jewish People's Committee presented 245,325 additional signatures obtained from people of all faiths. These were filed with the first batch. Although there were many non-Jewish signatories to these and other petitions, and although leading Protestant and Catholic clergymen spoke out frequently against the Nazi actions, there was no national outburst of Christian indignation. Shortly before the Evian Conference, James McDonald renewed a familiar campaign as he accepted the Albert Einstein Medal for Humanitarian Services. Pointing out that Protestants and Catholics were also being persecuted, he said that it was time that non-Jews became aware of the problem.

"The only really discouraging element," he said, "is that the Christian world, in this country and in other countries, should to such a very small extent take in the meaning of this current attack upon the principles of civilized society. Until Protestants and Catholics as well as Jews come to see that the things they hold dear, even as the things Jews hold dear, are threatened—not until then will there be an adequate response to enable refugees from central Europe to be cared for."

Much more typical than McDonald's eloquence in behalf of the refugees was the action of the New York State encampment of the Veterans of Foreign Wars. With the imminent Evian Conference in mind the VFW passed a resolution disapproving the admission of any refugees to the United States and calling for the suspension of all immigration for ten years. . . .

Even as the VFW and other "patriotic" groups were fighting the admission of refugees, the American and British press reported the large-scale movement of Austrian Jews to the Dachau concentration camp near Munich.

On June 19, two weeks before Evian, the London *Times's* Vienna correspondent wrote: "Demoralization is pursued by constant arrest of the Jewish population. No specific charge is made, but men and women, young and old, are taken each day and each night from their houses or in the streets and carried off, the more fortunate to Austrian prisons, and the rest to Dachau and other concentration camps in Germany. . . . The authorities demand rapid and impossible emigration. The Jews would welcome evacuation, but for most it is impossible. . . ."

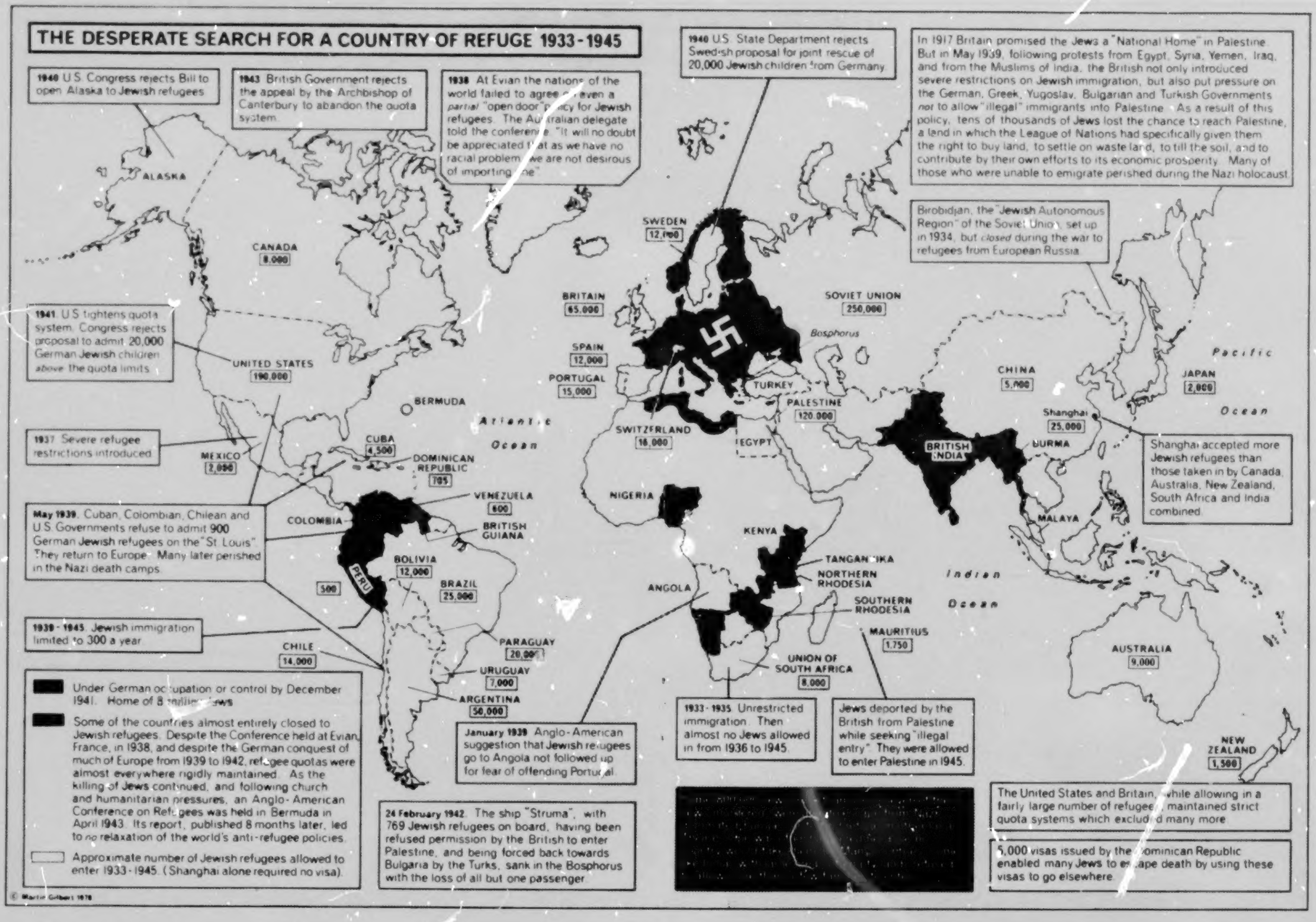
Perhaps no one described the challenge of Evian more eloquently than Anne O'Hare McCormick, columnist of the *New York Times*. Two days before the conference opened, she wrote: "It is heartbreaking to think of the queues of desperate human beings around our consulates in Vienna and other cities waiting in suspense for what happens at Evian. . . . It is not a question of how many unemployed this country can safely add to its own unemployed millions. It is a test of civilization. . . . Can America live with itself if it lets Germany get away with this policy of extermination, allows the fanaticism of one man to triumph over reason, refuses to take up this gage of battle against barbarism?"

Unknown to Miss McCormick and [illegible] the reporters gathering to cover the conference, Myron Taylor had met earlier with Sir Michael Palairet, the deputy head of the British delegation. Taylor told him that American Jewish leaders were anxious that Dr. Chaim Weizmann, head of the Jewish Agency for Palestine, be given an opportunity to present the case for immigration to Palestine either during the conference or at a private session. Sir Michael replied that his government "would naturally prefer that this meeting should not take place." Taylor promised him that he would not even talk to Weizmann prior to the conference.

Palestine had received more Jewish refugees than any other country, but the British had excluded its most eloquent spokesman, Dr. Weizmann, even before the conference began. . . .

On July 6, 1938, after much introductory skirmishing, the highly publicized Evian Conference was called to order. The first major controversy

THE DESPERATE SEARCH FOR A COUNTRY OF REFUGE 1933-1945


ALASKA
CANADA
8,000
UNITED STATES
190,000
MEXICO
2,000
BERMUDA
Atlantic Ocean
CUBA
4,500
DOMINICAN REPUBLIC
705
VENEZUELA
600
COLOMBIA
BRITISH GUIANA
PERU
500
BOLIVIA
12,000
BRAZIL
25,000
CHILE
14,000
PARAGUAY
20,000
URUGUAY
7,000
ARGENTINA
50,000
SWEDEN
12,000
BRITAIN
65,000
SPAIN
12,000
PORTUGAL
15,000
SWITZERLAND
16,000
SOVIET UNION
250,000
Bosphorus
TURKEY
PALESTINE
120,000
EGYPT
NIGERIA
KENYA
TANGANYIKA
NORTHERN RHODESIA
SOUTHERN RHODESIA
ANGOLA
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA
8,000
MAURITIUS
1,750
Indian Ocean
CHINA
5,000
JAPAN
2,000
Pacific Ocean
Shanghai
25,000
BRITISH INDIA
BURMA
MALAYA
AUSTRALIA
9,000
NEW ZEALAND
1,500

1940 U.S. Congress rejects Bill to open Alaska to Jewish refugees

1943 British Government rejects the appeal by the Archbishop of Canterbury to abandon the quota system.

1938 At Evian the nations of the world failed to agree on even a *partial* "open door" policy for Jewish refugees. The Australian delegate told the conference: "It will no doubt be appreciated that as we have no racial problem we are not desirous of importing one"

1940 U.S. State Department rejects Swedish proposal for joint rescue of 20,000 Jewish children from Germany

In 1917 Britain promised the Jews a "National Home" in Palestine. But in May 1939, following protests from Egypt, Syria, Yemen, Iraq, and from the Muslims of India, the British not only introduced severe restrictions on Jewish immigration, but also put pressure on the German, Greek, Yugoslav, Bulgarian and Turkish Governments *not* to allow "illegal" immigrants into Palestine. As a result of this policy, tens of thousands of Jews lost the chance to reach Palestine, a land in which the League of Nations had specifically given them the right to buy land, to settle on waste land, to till the soil, and to contribute by their own efforts to its economic prosperity. Many of those who were unable to emigrate perished during the Nazi holocaust.

Birobidjan, the "Jewish Autonomous Region" of the Soviet Union, set up in 1934, but *closed* during the war to refugees from European Russia.

1941. U.S. tightens quota system. Congress rejects proposal to admit 20,000 German Jewish children *above* the quota limits.

1937 Severe refugee restrictions introduced.

May 1939. Cuban, Colombian, Chilean and U.S. Governments refuse to admit 900 German Jewish refugees on the "St. Louis". They return to Europe. Many later perished in the Nazi death camps.

1939 - 1945. Jewish immigration limited to 300 a year.

Shanghai accepted more Jewish refugees than those taken in by Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and India combined.

■ Under German occupation or control by December 1941. Home of 8 million Jews

■ Some of the countries almost entirely closed to Jewish refugees. Despite the Conference held at Evian, France, in 1938, and despite the German conquest of much of Europe from 1939 to 1942, refugee quotas were almost everywhere rigidly maintained. As the killing of Jews continued, and following church and humanitarian pressures, an Anglo-American Conference on Refugees was held in Bermuda in April 1943. Its report, published 8 months later, led to *no* relaxation of the world's anti-refugee policies.

☐ Approximate number of Jewish refugees allowed to enter 1933-1945. (Shanghai alone required no visa).

January 1939 Anglo-American suggestion that Jewish refugees go to Angola not followed up for fear of offending Portugal.

24 February 1942. The ship "Struma", with 769 Jewish refugees on board, having been refused permission by the British to enter Palestine, and being forced back towards Bulgaria by the Turks, sank in the Bosphorus with the loss of all but one passenger.

1933 - 1935 Unrestricted immigration. Then almost no Jews allowed in from 1936 to 1945.

Jews deported by the British from Palestine while seeking "illegal entry". They were allowed to enter Palestine in 1945.

[redacted]

The United States and Britain, while allowing in a fairly large number of refugees, maintained strict quota systems which excluded many more.

5,000 visas issued by the Dominican Republic enabled many Jews to escape death by using these visas to go elsewhere.

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tackled by the delegates had nothing to do with refugees. It concerned the selection of the conference president. This dispute went on for two days. . . .

When the delegates finally turned to substantive issues it became clear that it would take more than the dedication of a Myron Taylor to rescue the conference: one after another the nations made clear their unwillingness to accept refugees. . . .

Australia, with vast, unpopulated areas, announced: "As we have no real racial problem, we are not desirous of importing one." New Zealand was unwilling to lift its restrictions. The British colonial empire, . . . contained no territory suitable to the large-scale settlement of Jewish refugees. Canada wanted agricultural migrants and none others. The same was true of Colombia, Uruguay and Venezuela.

Peru was particularly opposed to the immigration of doctors and lawyers lest such an intellectual proletariat upset the unbridled power of its upper class. The Peruvian delegate pointedly remarked that the United States had given his country an example of "caution and wisdom" by its own immigration restrictions.

France, whose population already included two hundred thousand refugees and three million aliens, stressed that it had reached its saturation point.

Nicaragua, Honduras, Costa Rica and Panama issued a joint statement saying that they could accept no "traders or intellectuals." Argentina, with a population one-tenth that of the United States, reported that it had welcomed almost as many refugees as the United States and hence could not be counted on for large-scale immigration.

The Netherlands and Denmark reflected their traditional humanitarianism. Though Holland had already accepted twenty-five thousand Jewish refugees, it offered itself as a country of temporary sojourn. Denmark, so densely populated that its own citizens were forced to emigrate, had already taken in a disproportionately large number of German exiles. Within its narrow limits, it would continue to do so.

And the United States, the nation at whose initiative the conference had convened, what would it offer? The answer was soon in coming. The United States, with its tradition of asylum, its vast land mass and its unlimited resources, agreed, for the first time, to accept its full, legal quota of 27,370 immigrants annually from Germany and Austria. That was the major American concession made at Evian. . . .

Questions for Discussion

1. What agreements were made at Evian?
2. What was the reaction of the American newspapers to the results at Evian?
3. How do you react to arguments made by the American Medical Association and the Veterans of Foreign War?
4. In 1940, Anne Lindbergh, wife of the famous flyer, wrote "We, as Americans, do not have the moral right to judge what is happening. After all, we are not perfect ourselves." How do you react to this statement?
5. Using the map, compare the immigration policy of the United States with other nations during the Holocaust?

American Views of the Refugee Question

The following questions were asked of Americans during the period of the Holocaust. They are recorded in Charles Herbert Stember's *Jews in The Mind of America*. They were designed to survey public opinion concerning political events in Europe and the problem of European refugees. The responses are given in percentages.

---

1. What is your attitude toward allowing German, Austrian, and other political refugees to come into the United States? (1938)

A. We should encourage them to come even if we have to raise our immigration quotas	5
B. We should allow them to come but not raise immigration quotas	18
C. With conditions as they are, we should try to keep them out	67
D. Don't know	10

2. Do you think the persecution of Jews in Europe has been their own fault?

	March 1938	May 1938
Entirely	12	10
Partly	49	48
Not at all	23	31
No opinion	16	11

3. If you were a member of Congress, would you vote yes or no on a bill to open the doors of the United States to a larger number of European refugees than are now admitted under our immigration quotas?

Yes	9
No	83
Don't know	8

4. Do you think it would be a good idea or a bad idea to let more immigrants come into this country after the war?

Good Idea	13
Bad Idea	78
Don't Know	9

5. Should we allow a larger number of Jewish exiles to come to the United States to live?

	March 1938	November 1938
Yes	17	21
No	75	71
Don't Know	8	8

6. Here is a list of different groups of people. Do you think we should let a certain number of each of these groups come to the United States to live after the war, or do you think we should stop some of the groups from coming at all? (1944)

	Let Come	Stop From Coming	Don't Know
English	68	25	7
Swedes	62	27	11
Russians	57	33	10
Chinese	56	36	8
Mexicans	48	42	10
Jews	46	46	9
Germans	36	59	5
Japanese	20	75	5

7. (A) It has been proposed that the government permit 10,000 refugee children from Germany to be brought into this country and taken care of in American homes. Do you favor this plan?

(B) It has been proposed to bring into this country 10,000 refugee children from Germany, most of them Jewish, to be taken care of in American homes. Should the government permit these children to come in? (1944)

	(A)	(B)
Yes	26	30
No	66	61
No Opinion	8	9

Questions for Discussion

1. What conclusions might be drawn from the responses?
2. Did most of those surveyed feel Jews were at least partially responsible for what happened to them? How do you explain this?
3. Try to explain the responses to survey question #6.

The Munich Conference

What Would You Do?

Many of the decisions made by leaders of state affect the lives of all of us. Sometimes the choices are clear. At other times they are not.

In September 1938, Neville Chamberlain, Prime Minister of England, Benito Mussolini of Italy, and Edward Daladier of France, met in Munich, Germany with Adolf Hitler. Their meeting focused upon the sensitive issue of the Sudetenland, a portion of Czechoslovakia in which many native Germans lived. Hitler argued that the territory should be ceded to Germany, since so many living in the Sudetenland were Germans.

With his rise to power in 1933, Adolf Hitler had begun to rebuild the military might of Germany, which had been lost as a result of the Versailles Treaty. Germany withdrew from the League of Nations. In 1935, the draft was reinstated, and in 1938, Austria became part of the Third Reich. Hitler referred to the "destiny of the

German people" and the Aryan "right of dominance" in the world.

Neville Chamberlain was concerned about possible German expansion. In fact, Hitler had threatened to take the Sudentenland by force if it were not handed over to him. If this takeover occurred, Chamberlain thought, world war was very possible. However, he believed that some concessions would satisfy Hitler. Winston Churchill, then a member of the political opposition, opposed the government's policy of appeasement. It was his conviction that by *not* standing up to Hitler war was inevitable.

Questions for Discussion

1. What should Chamberlain have done? What were his options?
2. In 1935 Italy, under Benito Mussolini, invaded Ethiopia. Why? How should the United States and other nations have reacted to this act of aggression? How did they respond?
3. In 1936, civil war broke out in Spain between Republicans and Loyalists led by the fascist General Francisco Franco. What led to the war? Should the United States have taken sides in the conflict or remained neutral?
4. In 1939, Germany and the Soviet Union signed a non-aggression treaty which paved the way for Germany's further expansionism. What had been the relationship between the two nations—and the two ideologies, Communism and Nazism—until then? How do you explain the alliance of "Communist" Russia with "Fascist" Germany? Some recent historians have argued that the Russians were simply making their own deal with the Germans after having been rejected in any proposed alliance with England and the United States. Why do you think these nations were unwilling to form an alliance with the Soviet Union in the 1930's?
5. Was Churchill right? How do you stop aggression?

Race Defilement

What Would You Do?

Some laws are unjust. Some are cruel and perverse. What can and should citizens—not only those directly involved—do? What are—or should be—the limits of law?

One of the major components of the Nuremberg Laws of 1935 was called *Rassenschande*, or race defilement. This law forbade any social and sexual contact between German "Aryans" and Jews. The law was the result of a long-held belief that Jews were the sexual seducers of the German people. It left couples of mixed faiths with a serious problem.

One of the most famous cases of *Rassenschande* involved Joachim Gottschalk, a German movie actor. Gottschalk was married to a young Jewish woman and had one child. The Nazi government suggested that Gottschalk divorce his wife. Promises were made of an even smoother rise to fame for the actor. Yet Gottschalk refused to renounce his wife.

Finally, Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, presented him with an ultimatum. Unless he divorced his wife, Gottschalk would be banned from ever acting again. Nevertheless, Gottschalk refused to leave his wife and child. Then he was informed that, regardless of his decision, he could no longer live with his "polluted" family. The Gestapo gave his wife and child one day to pack and join the Jewish exodus of deportees to the East. Gottschalk was not permitted to go with them.

Questions for Discussion

1. What should Gottschalk have done?
2. In fact Gottschalk decided to commit suicide together with his wife and child. They were all found dead from an overdose of pills. What is your reaction to this decision?

The Yellow Badge

The yellow badge as an identifying mark for Jews was first used in the Middle Ages by the Catholic Church. (It was taken from older Muslim edicts that required Jews and Christians to wear identifying badges.) Raul Hilberg's charts of "Canonical and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures" and "Pre-Nazi and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures" indicate that the yellow badge was only one of many concepts borrowed by the Nazis.

"Honor the Yellow Badge" expresses the pride of the Jewish people. Jews had met with persecution throughout their history. What the Nazis had done until 1938 was not new policy toward Jews. To some Jewish leaders in Germany, such as Rabbi Leo Baeck and Robert Weltsch in his 1934 article "Wear the Yellow Badge with Pride," the most important step that could be taken by Jews was to reaffirm their own basic identity as Jews.

Canonical and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures

Raul Hilberg

CANONICAL (CHURCH) LAW	NAZI MEASURE
Prohibition of intermarriage and of sexual intercourse between Christians and Jews, Synod of Elvira, 306	Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, September 15, 1935
Jews and Christians not permitted to eat together, Synod of Elvira, 306	Jews barred from dining cars (Transport Minister to Interior Minister, December 30, 1939)
Jews not allowed to hold public office, Synod of Clermont, 535	Law for the Re-establishment of the Professional Civil Service, April 7, 1933
Jews not allowed to employ Christian servants or possess Christian slaves, 3d Synod of Orleans, 538	Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, September 15, 1935
Jews not permitted to show themselves in the streets during Passion Week, 3d Synod of Orleans, 538	Decree authorizing local authorities to bar Jews from the streets on certain days (i.e., Nazi holidays), December 3, 1938
Burning of the Talmud and other books, 12th Synod of Toledo, 681	Book burnings in Nazi Germany
Christians not permitted to patronize Jewish doctors, Trulanic Synod, 692	Decree of July 25, 1938
Christians not permitted to live in Jewish homes, Synod of Narbonne, 1050	Directive by Göring providing for concentration of Jews in houses, December 28, 1938
Jews obliged to pay taxes for support of the Church to the same extent as Christians, Synod of Gerona, 1078	The "Sozialausgleichsabgabe" which provided that Jews pay a special income tax in lieu of donations for Party purposes imposed on Nazis, December 24, 1940
Jews not permitted to be plaintiffs, or witnesses against Christians in the Courts, 3d Lateran Council, 1179	Proposal by the Party Chancellery that Jews not be permitted to institute civil suits, September 9, 1942

CANONICAL (CHURCH) LAW	NAZI MEASURE
Jews not permitted to withhold inheritance from descendants who had accepted Christianity, 3d Lateran Council, 1179	Decree empowering the Justice Ministry to void wills offending the "sound judgment of the people," July 31, 1938
The marking of Jewish clothes with a badge, 4th Lateran Council, 1215, Canon 68 (Copied from the legislation by Caliph Omar II [634–44], who had decreed that Christians wear blue belts and Jews, yellow belts.)	Decree of September 1, 1941
Construction of new synagogues prohibited, Council of Oxford, 1222	Destruction of synagogues in entire Reich, November 10, 1938
Christians not permitted to attend Jewish ceremonies, Synod of Vienna, 1267	Friendly relations with Jews prohibited, October 24, 1941
Jews not permitted to dispute with simple Christian people about the tenets of the Catholic religion, Synod of Vienna, 1267	
Compulsory ghettos, Synod of Breslau, 1267	Order by Heydrich, September 21, 1939
Christians not permitted to sell or rent real estate to Jews, Synod of Ofen, 1279	Decree providing for compulsory sale of Jewish real estate, December 3, 1938
Adoption by a Christian of the Jewish religion or return by a baptized Jew to the Jewish religion defined as a heresy, Synod of Mainz, 1310	Adoption by a Christian of the Jewish religion places him in jeopardy of being treated as a Jew, June 26, 1942
Sale or transfer of Church articles to Jews prohibited, Synod of Lavour, 1368	
Jews not permitted to act as agents in the conclusion of contracts between Christians, especially marriage contracts, Council of Basel, 1434	Decree of July 6, 1938, providing for liquidation of Jewish real estate agencies, brokerage agencies, and marriage agencies catering to non-Jews
Jews not permitted to obtain academic degrees, Council of Basel, 1434	Law against Overcrowding of German Schools and Universities, April 25, 1933

Pre-Nazi and Nazi Anti-Jewish Measures

PRE-NAZI STATE DEVELOPMENT	NAZI MEASURE
Per capita protection tax *(der goldene Opferpfennig)* imposed upon Jews by King Ludwig the Bavarian, 1328-1337	
The property of Jews slain in a German city considered as public property, "because the Jews with their possessions belong to the Reich chamber," provision in the 14th-century code ***Regulae juris "Ad decus"***	13th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law providing that the property of a Jew be confiscated after his death, July 1, 1943

PRE-NAZI STATE DEVELOPMENT	NAZI MEASURE
Confiscation of Jewish claims against Christian debtors at the end of the 14th-century in Nuremberg	11th Ordinance to the Reich Citizenship Law, November 25, 1941
"Fines": for example, the Regensburg fine for "killing Christian child," 1421	Decree for the "Atonement Payment" by the Jews, November 12, 1938
Marking of documents and personal papers identifying possessor or bearer as a Jew	Decree providing for identification cards, July 23, 1938 (RGBl I, 922.)
	Decree providing for marking of passports, October 5, 1938
Marking of houses, special shopping hours, and restrictions of movement, 17th century, Frankfurt	Marking of Jewish apartments, April 17, 1942.
	Decree providing for movement restrictions, September 1, 1941
Compulsory Jewish names in 19th-century bureaucratic practice	Decree of January 5, 1937 Decree of August 17, 1938

Honor The Yellow Badge

Author Unknown

I held in trembling hand
A shred of yellow cloth;
It was besmirched and creased, a ragged wedge.
Bitter revulsion and nausea roared into my mouth:
There it is, there: The Jewish, yellow badge.

A blue flash caught my eye,
A point peeped from each fold.
Six points, all bent—the Star of David, blue.
A sudden pounding took me by my throat.
My blood streamed stronger, and hot words leaped out:
There it is—there: the badge of honor of the Jew.

And I repressed my sudden spurt of fear;
It seemed then that an outcry burst forth overhead.
Which like a whirlwind tossed me, left me maimed.
And afterwards, throughout the night, till morn,
A pall took hold of me, imprisoning hand,
My body, all my limbs. And it proclaimed:

Give honor that the points are bent and twisted,
Give honor that the folds are wrapped and shifted
About the arms and shoulders of the Jew, God's pledge.
Given honor to the rag filled like a sponge
With desolation, sacred martyr's death, pogrom—
Proclaim and swear your love now to the yellow badge!

Questions for Discussion

1. Why would it be important for Jews to "honor" the yellow badge?
2. How would you feel if you were forced to wear a symbol that was meant to be degrading?
3. When were the yellow badge and the concept of the ghetto first employed?

Definitions

martyr—a person who sacrifices his or her life for a cause
pogrom—a violent, organized attack upon Jewish communities in Eastern Europe

David Rosenstein's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

What are one's obligations to oneself? family? community? Which takes precedence?

David Rosenstein is a doctor living in the city of Berlin. He has a young wife and two small children. David is well-known in the community as a good doctor who serves his patients well. As a result, he has become prosperous and well-regarded. He lives in a beautiful home and experiences many of the cultural advantages of success.

Germany has undergone dramatic change. With the rise of Hitler in 1933, there has been violence and tension in the streets. David has hoped that Hitler and the Nazis were only trying to segregate Jews; all else that Hitler said was taken as little more than campaign talk. But the Nuremburg Laws of 1935 increased the actions taken against Jews. Rosenstein can no longer vote and he is heavily taxed by the Reich. He also can no longer serve non-Jewish patients. Yet he remains a dedicated doctor to those that need him.

It is now 1938 in Germany. Dramatic changes are called for in the life of the Rosenstein family. David thinks he could leave his beloved Germany even though emigration quotas are severely restricted. As a doctor, his position could help him to leave the country if he were willing to leave his wealth in Germany. But David has been approached by a group of people who want him to participate in an organization designed to help protect and give comfort to Jews in need in the city. As an influential doctor in the community, Rosenstein's friends feel he has a responsibility to stay in Germany.

Rosenstein understands that the decision to be made is a difficult one. He is torn by his responsibility to his family, his people, his community, and himself.

Questions for Discussion

1. What should David Rosenstein do?
2. It is important to remember that by 1938, it was very difficult for many Jews, especially those of lower economic levels, to leave Germany. The Nazis demanded high fees from those Jews who wanted to leave. As of the summer of 1938, nothing happened in Germany that had not already occurred to Jews in the past. In 1938, how would Jews have known what was ahead?
3. What are the similarities and differences between Rosenstein's situation and that of Emanuel Rutsa?
4. Can one really say which is wiser—to stay or to go? Have there been historical examples of persecuted people who stayed and survived?

The Night of Broken Glass

Gerald Green

On November 7, 1938, Ernst Vom Rath, a member of the German Embassy in Paris, was assassinated by Herschel Grynszpan, a young Polish Jew. Grynszpan had received a letter from his sister in which she stated that the Grynszpan family, together with all Polish Jews living in Germany, had been arrested and deported to Poland. Seeking revenge for the suffering of his family, Grynszpan, who was 17 years old, bought a hand gun, went to the German Embassy, and shot Vom Rath, who later died.

Supposedly in retaliation, the Nazis determined that all places of Jewish worship in Germany and Austria were to be destroyed. In reality, plans for such a riot had been made long before, and only awaited the appropriate moment for execution. Thus, on November 9, 1938, a "spontaneous" demonstration of anger was carried out. In fifteen hours, 101 synagogues were destroyed by fire, and seventy-six others were demolished. Seventy-five hundred Jewish-owned stores were destroyed. The streets were filled with broken glass; thus the name given to this event was *Kristallnacht*, or "The Night of Broken Glass." Then the government decided that the Jews would have to pay an "atonement payment" for having caused the damage. Millions of dollars had to be paid by the Jews and their insurance companies to the Nazi government. A new stage in the process of death had begun. The following selection is taken from the docunovel *Holocaust* by Gerald Green. Although the characters may be fictional, the story is true.

The world now knows it as *Kristallnacht*—the night of broken glass. It marked the true beginning of the destruction of our people. I saw it; I was in the midst of it. . . .

The cowardly bastards came down the street on which Grandpa had his bookstore. Smashed windows. Burned merchandise. Beat up any Jew they could lay their hands on. Two men who tried to fight back where beaten to death on the spot—Mr. Cohen, the furrier, and Mr. Seligman, who ran a dry-goods shop.

They broke the window with the gold lettering: H. PALITZ BOOKSTORE. Grampa was a tough old bird. Like my mother, he was convinced—even at this late date!—that he was a better German than they were, that his Iron Cross would protect him, that some miracle from Heaven would make them go away.

So he came out of the store waving his cane, after the first brick had shattered the glass, and shouted at them to go away. The mob answered by throwing his books into the street—rare editions, old maps, everything—and setting them afire. They called him an old kike, knocked him down, beat his back with canes.

He kept protesting that he was Captain Heinrich Palitz, formerly of the Second Berlin Machine Gun Regiment. It made them angrier. My grandmother looked from the window, screaming for the police. Three Berlin policemen stood on the far corner and watched as the gang, seven or eight, knocked Grandpa down again and again, turned his head into a bloody pulp, ripped his jacket off.

One of them made him get on all fours and rode him, as if he were a horse.

Then he saw Heinz Muller. . . . Factory worker, union man, he was some kind of minor official in the local Nazi Party now. He was in civilian clothing, leading a singing gang. As usual, the Horst Wessel song. They wanted Jewish blood.

They dragged Grandpa to his feet—the police were still watching, smiling those flat, cold smiles—and Muller handed my grandfather a toy drum.

"You're such a f---- war hero, Palitz," Muller said. "Lead the parade. Beat the drum, you old Jew liar."

Behind grandfather were a half-dozen other Jewish store owners. Their shops had been smashed, looted, burned. The street was ablaze.

That bastard Muller! My grandmother watched, weeping, terrified, as Grandpa began to beat the drum, and the Jewish merchants, with signs reading JUDE hanging on their necks, were paraded down the street.

And no one lifted a finger.

My grandmother called our house and told us what was happening. We knew. We could hear glass shattering all over our neighborhood.

My parents stood frozen in the living room.

"I shall call the police," my father said. "This is intolerable. Yes, there are laws against us, but this kind of violence . . ."

My father's pathetic belief that there still was some kind of justice in Germany almost made me cry. Being a just man, he could not believe otherwise.

"We must wait . . . wait and pray," my mother said. "It can't last forever. What good can it do them?"

"You can wait," I said. "I'm going out to get Grandpa."

My mother grabbed my sleeve and tried to hold me back. She was used to having her way, forcing her children to bend to her will.

"I forbid it, Rudi! You can't fight them all!"

"Yes," my father said. "They are looking for excuses to kill us! We mustn't fight back!"

"They've got all the excuses they need."

I pulled away from my mother and ran down the stairs. As I was putting on my sweater, Anna came running after me.

The street was a wreck. Every store had been smashed. Most were on fire. Mr. Goldbaum, a jeweler, was playing a fire hose against the remains of his shop. Everything he owned had been stolen. . . .

A truck came rumbling by. I grabbed Anna and we hid in an alley. It was an open truck. . . . There were men parading up and down with signs denouncing the Jews. Mr. Seligman, from whom my mother used to buy draperies and bed linen, was lying face down in a pool of blood and broken glass.

The truck stopped and the hoodlums jumped off. . . .

Then we saw the parade. Grandpa, his head bloodied, one eye closed, was being forced to lead it, beating on the toy drum. Every few steps, he and the other storekeepers would be beaten with clubs and chains. . . .

I stepped out of the alley. Beyond the street the sky was turning orange with fires. I could hear women wailing. And more glass breaking, as if they meant to break every Jewish-owned window in Berlin.

The mob seemed to be getting weary of its game. Muller's gang began wandering off. Grandpa was still standing erect, refusing to cry, or beg, or plead.

I walked up to him and took his hands. "Grandpa. It's me. Rudi."

Anna came running out and took his arm.

At the rear of the column of Jews, a drunken young man was rifling pockets—stealing wallets, pens, watches. Muller shouted at him. "Hey. The party says none of that. This is a patriotic demonstration, not a robbery."

"That's what you think, Muller," the man said.

"You obey orders," Muller shouted. Then he looked at me in the dim light and walked toward me. There was a moment of recognition, almost human, in his eyes, and I wonder now, could there have been something decent in this man, something that was crushed? After all, he was not, like some of the SS, a ganster or a tramp, a rootless troublemaker; he had a trade, he knew respectable people. What had impelled him to become a brute? I'm not sure I know yet; nor am I sure that it matters any more. An honorable man who turns criminal, especially if he moralizes about it, is perhaps more to be hated than a habitual burglar or murderer. . . .

Muller asked if he knew me, and Grandpa replied that I was his grandson, Rudi Weiss. In response, Muller slapped my grandfather's face and said, "Shut up, you old kike."

"He's an old man," I said. "You want to fight someone, fight me. Not a mob. Just you and me, Muller."

Five or six of them gathered around us. Anna hugged Grandpa.

Muller rubbed his chin, glared at me through the haze of smoke. People were coughing, doubled over.

"Okay, Weiss. Beat it. Take the old s--- with you. Get off the street."

I suppose I should have been grateful to him, and to Hans. But something was building up in me. I knew what. Revenge. Some day I wanted the sheer joy of smashing their faces, shaming them, letting them know they could not do this to us.

We helped Grandpa to his house. He and my grandmother lived in an apartment over the bookstore. Once he stopped and picked up a burned first edition of Johnson's dictionary, then an early edition of *Faust*. He turned the charred pages sadly.

"Heinrich, Heinrich," my grandmother wept. "How could they do this to an old man?"

He wiped blood from his forehead, stiffened his back. "I'll survive." He looked at the burned books again. "But my books . . ."

"Anna and I will clean up," I said. But I saw it was useless. He would never sell a book or a print or a map again.

Questions for Discussion

1. How do you react to Grynszpan and to his assassination of Vom Rath? Explain.
2. What do the police do while the Grandfather is being attacked?
3. How do you think you would have reacted to this situation? Why?

Early Attacks in Poland

In the early stages there were indiscriminate attacks on the Jewish population carried out by individual German soldiers—actions that were clearly sadistic, meant to humiliate their victims. But as the reading from Gerald Green's docunovel *Holocaust* makes clear it became the intent of the Germans to make the process of handling the Jews (not less sadistic but) *more efficient*. By 1939 the final fate of the Jewish population was still unclear. It is Reinhard Heydrich who stated, "the Jews ought to be isolated and confined to ghettos." The Nazis would attempt to gain the support of the anti-Semitic population for these actions.

In 1941 when the Germans attacked the Soviet Union (with whom they had a non-aggression pact) they took over those parts of Poland, Lithuania, etc. formally under USSR control. This is the setting from which the selection from Samuel Pisar's memoir *Of Blood and Hope* is taken and in which we see the realization of plans outlined in the first reading.

Erik Dorf's Diary

Gerald Green

Berlin
September 1939

In twenty days, Poland has fallen. . . .

Our office keeps getting annoying reports about the actions against Jews in Poland.

It is not that the actions are against policy—Heydrich says we are fighting a double war, one against foreign armies, another against the Jewish conspiracy—but that they are haphazard, disorganized, piecemeal.

The beards and earlocks of these strange Orthodox eastern Jews seem to arouse our men. They cut them off, tear them off, burn them.

Jews are herded into synagogues and the buildings are set afire.

In Bielsko, Jews were strung up in the yard of a Jewish school, rubber hoses were shoved into their mouths, and the water turned on until their stomachs burst.

Rape is frequent, although the soldier who indulges his passion in this manner runs the risk of a charge of race defilement.

Jewish women are stripped and made to dance naked in the streets—to the amusement of the Poles as well as our SS men.

In one town, Jews were driven naked from a communal bath to a slaughterhouse, and burned alive.

One report says—I am asking someone to verify it, but I see no reason to disbelieve it—that in a Polish village, three rabbis were beheaded, and their heads displayed in the window of the local department store, owned, of course, by a Jew.

And so on. All disorganized, planless, at the whim of some local SS commandant.

"The army is somewhat annoyed," I said to Heydrich, after reading the morning reports from Poland.

"Why should they be? Keitel himself, that whore, issued an order to his glorious army telling them that Jews are poisonous parasites, that they're a plague to the world. I remember the field marshal's precise words: 'The fight against Jewry is a moral fight for the purity and health of God-created humanity.' "

"Don't misunderstand me, sir," I said quickly. "It's not the acts against Jews that bothers the army. It's the undermining of army authority in occupied areas. Our men take precedence, commandeer equipment, give orders."

"Well, the army will have to live with it. Let them conquer and occupy. We'll handle the Jews and the other vermin."

But he was disturbed, I could see.

In the next few hours, Heydrich, with that blazing, inventive mind of his, drew up a new formula for handling the Jews of Poland. They will be shoved out of the territories we take over, into places like Lublin and Warsaw, there to fester, as he put it, in their own communities. And the Jews themselves will handle the movement, the organization of these vast ghettoes. Jewish councils, consisting of the oldest and most influential members of the Jewish community, will do the work for us.

"If they refuse?"

"Jews don't refuse. They cooperate. They are terrified, unarmed, without allies."

Poland, it develops in Heydrich's plan, will be a vast dumping ground for the Jews of Europe—not just Polish Jews, but those remaining in Germany, Austria and Czechoslovakia.

Heydrich went on. The groundwork is already laid for us—two thousand years of Christian doctrine, supported by eminent Church fathers and doctors, proving the Chosen People to be Christ-killers, deicides, well-poisoners, the devil's spawn, the spillers of the blood of Christian children for their Passover feasts. An endless list of old ideologies, much of it nonsense, but extremely useful.

We then discussed more immediate problems. The random killings and burnings will have to cease. The SS will be in charge of a vast eastward movement of Jews. Only Bolsheviks, criminals, resisters and potential leaders—rabbis, professionals and so on—will be executed. The mass of Jews will be quarantined in Polish cities like Lublin and Warsaw. In effect, he said, "the germ carriers will be isolated."

I suggested we call these areas "Autonomous Jewish Territories," and Heydrich approved the term, complimenting me.

"It will sound as if they're permanent communities," I said, "But of course, as you say, they'll merely be a stage toward . . ."

He laughed again. "Regulation of the Jewish problem! By God, Dorf, I'm getting like you."

"Sir?"

"Using language to say what I don't mean. Remind me at tomorrow's meeting. Emphasize the point. No one is ever to talk about annihilation or extermination."

Everything Else Must Be Left Behind

Samuel Pisar

The Nazis shock troops that entered Bialystok wasted no time in implementing the Führer's racial plans. On the first Friday of the occupation, over a thousand Jews were herded into the Great Synagogue, which was then set aflame. The following Sabbath, after a house-to-house search, hundreds of able-bodied men, among them my cousins Isaac, Grisha, and Frol, were rounded up, lined up in a field, and cut down by machine gun fire. That was the beginning.

Having established its reign of terror, the Nazi command issued an order: all Jews were to move to a designated slum section of the city, whose non-Jewish inhabitants would be resettled in the abandoned Jewish homes. The order was to be carried out within twenty-four hours.

With our bags packed we gathered in our living room—my father; my mother; my sister, who was then eight; my mother's youngest brother, Memel; my grandmother, who had hoped to join her two other sons in Australia and whose travel documents were ready, alas too late; and myself, then twelve. This was now the immediate family. My other grandparents had died from natural causes.

It was a hot summer day, but father had built a roaring fire in the fireplace, and into this he proceeded to throw our most cherished possessions—mementos, photographs, letters, family heirlooms, things we could not take with us and did not want to fall into strange hands. We stood in a semicircle around the fireplace, father dressed in a khaki winter suit, with a thick leather belt and high riding boots. His resemblance to Gary Cooper, about which mother used to tease him constantly, was more striking than ever. The yellow Star of David we were required to wear on our chests made him look even more like a sheriff of the American Far West.

"We are living," he said, "our last moments in our home. We don't know when we will return. We don't know who will move in here after we are gone. Each of us is allowed to carry one bag. That means we can take only the barest essentials, only what will help keep us alive. Everything else must be left behind."

"But father," I protested, "what about my bicycle? And my ice skates? And my stamp collection? And my—"

"Bicycles are not allowed. Your ice skates will be useless. As for your stamp collection, take it along. We may be able to trade it for food. But that's all."

Questions for Discussion

1. Describe some of the early actions taken against Polish Jews.
2. What was the process of intimidation and subjugation? What recourse did the Jews described here have?
3. What was happening to the non-Jews in these communities? Could they not have been aware of what was happening to the Jews?
4. Can you imagine what it was like to have to leave one's home with only one bag of personal

possessions? What do you think those people took with them? What possessions do you value most?

Definition

Reinhard Heydrich—head of the SS Security Police.

deicide—the killing of a God.

Euthanasia Program

Saul Friedlander

The first experiments with mass killing occurred not directly against Jews but against people who were considered mentally or physically handicapped. Given the harmless name of the "General Foundation for Institutional Care," the program eliminated those thought to be unfit to serve the state. The code name for the program was "T4." It included already existing agencies which continued to fulfill specific functions. Formulated on September 1, 1939, the day of the German attack on Poland, the Nazis hoped the program would be buried in the early news of war. The "General Foundation for Affairs of Insane Asylums" employed asylum staff in the killing centers. The "Reich Operation Team of Asylum and Nursing Homes" distributed questionnaires to institutions regarding patients eligible for euthanasia, and the "Public Benefit Patient Transportation Society" escorted people from their institutions to their deaths. All this suggests a perverse use of language that would reach its apex several years later. The program set the stage for the later widespread attempt to kill millions of Jews. Not only did some of the top Nazis of the death camps receive their training in T4, but some of the T4 gas chambers were dismantled and reassembled at death camps such as Belzec, Maidanek, and Treblinka. The following is by Saul Friedlander.

The killing of mental cases and of the feebleminded had been secretly decided upon by Hitler in September 1939. . . . A first killing center was set up in Brandenberg at the end of 1939 and five others, Grafeneck and Hadamar among them, went into service in 1940. In charge of the executions was Christian Wirth, Superintendent of the Criminal Investigation Department of the Stuttgart Police.

. . . Wirth executed the patients with a revolver, but soon a more perfected technique was devised—the first gas chambers operated with carbon monoxide. Historian Léon Poliakov describes this:

"The installation was simple. . . . In each establishment a room camouflaged as a shower room was hermetically sealed. This was connected to a system of pipes linked to cylinders of carbon monoxide. The patients, before being taken in groups of ten or fifteen into this gas chamber, were generally made drowsy with the aid of morphine or scopolamine shots or drugged with soporifics. The euthanasia centers also housed a small crematorium in which the bodies were burned. The families were notified by means of form letters which informed them of the patient's decease as a result of 'heart failure' or 'pneumonia.' "

Between January 1940 and August 1941, a total of 70,273 patients were put to death. Having thus proved its usefulness, this combination of gas chamber and crematorium later became the chief means for effecting the mass extermination of Jews, which began in 1941. . . . Germany was full of rumors on this subject. The high rate of deaths, . . . in the psychiatric clinics from 1940 onward aroused suspicion. . . . The children of Hadamar used to greet the buses bringing the patients with the cry: "Here come some more to be gassed!" The smoke from the crematoriums was visible for miles around. Soon Catholic and Protestant bishops were taking a more and more open stand. A memorandum was presented to the Reich Chancellery by Pastor Braune:

"How far is the extermination of those considered unworthy of life to go? The massive operations now in progress have shown that many of the people included have been clear in mind and sentient . . . Is the extermination directed solely at completely hopeless cases, such as those of idiots and imbeciles? . . . Will it stop short of sufferers from tuberculosis? The euthanasia program is already being applied to prison inmates. Will the attack be extended to other abnormal and antisocial persons? Where is the limit to be? Who is abnormal? Who is anti-social? Which are the hopeless cases? What will be the fate of soldiers who, while fighting for their country, run the risk of contracting incurable diseases? Some of them are already asking themselves questions of this kind. . . ."

Pastor Braune was arrested by the Gestapo, but three months later he was at liberty. The agitation continued. At this point, on August 3, 1941, Msgr. Clemens, August von Galen, Bishop of Münster, spoke out publicly against the euthanasia program in a sermon preached in St. Lambert's Church:

"There are obligations of conscience from which no one can release us and which we must discharge, even at the cost of our lives. No man has the right to kill an innocent person, no matter what the reason, except in case of war or in legitimate self-defense. I have already had occasion to use these words in my general pastoral letter of July 6 and to add the following clarifications: We have been hearing for some months past that, on orders from Berlin, mentally sick patients, who long have been under treatment and who may seem incurable, are being forcibly removed from psychiatric clinics. Shortly afterward, as a regular practice, the family receives a notification stating that the patient is dead, that the body has been cremated and that the ashes may be collected. . . . there is near certainty that all of the unexpected deaths of these mental cases have not been due to natural causes, but were artificially induced, in accordance with the doctrine that authorizes the elimination of what are called "unworthy lives" and, consequently, the killing of innocent people, if their existence is no longer held to be productive for the nation or for the State. It is a frightful concept that affects to justify the murder of innocents and allows the killing of invalids incapable of work, of the infirm, of incurables, and of old men and women afflicted by senility. Confronted with this doctrine, the German bishops declare: No man has the right to kill an innocent person, no matter what the reason, except in case of war or in legitimate self-defense . . ."

Shortly after Msgr. von Galen delivered his sermon, the euthanasia program came to an end. The Bishop of Münster was left unmolested.

Questions for Discussion

1. What evidence is given to confirm that many people were aware of the "euthanasia" experiments?
2. What was the basis of the Catholic and Protestant opposition to this program? Some historians see their protest as evidence that such dissent was possible and even successful during the Third Reich. Yet these same historians ask why the same opposition was not applied to the persecution of Jews. How do you explain this behavior?

The Judenrat Government

Bea Stadtler

As early as 1939, The Reich Security Main Office, headed by SS Reinhard Heydrich, established regulations regarding the treatment of Jews in occupied areas of Poland. Using the excuse that Jews were active in looting, all Jews living in small rural areas were transferred to large cities in which ghettos were organized.

Ghettos were first created during the Middle Ages. Yet those first ghettos had begun as a strategy for survival since Jews needed to defend themselves. Later, the Church would make the voluntary ghetto a requirement for all Jews. But, even then, Jews could leave the ghetto during the day; no such freedom would exist in the new Nazi Ghettos.

Most Jewish communities were led by Jewish councils, called *Kehillot* in Hebrew (singular: *Kehilla*). Under the Nazis, the *Kehilla* became the *Judenrat*. The function of the Judenrat was to carry out the orders of the Nazi officials, e.g. transferring of Jews from the rural areas; providing food and housing in the ghettos; keeping accurate records of the number of Jews in the ghetto according to age, sex, and occupation; and eventually, selecting those Jews who were to be "resettled." In Warsaw, Judenrat "decisions" were enforced by Nazi-appointed Jewish police led first by Josef Szerynski, a convert to Christianity and a vicious anti-Semite. Their actions were also supported by detachments of Ukrainians, Latvians, and Lithuanians.

The functions of the Judenrat presented many very difficult moral decisions. Jews argued among themselves about whether to accept ghettoization, the distribution of ration cards, and "resettlement." The Judenrat seemed to give them some control over their destiny and yet in reality *it had no power to change the kinds of orders that it had to enforce*. Refusal to carry out Nazi orders resulted in severe punishment. The cruelty involved in forcing Jews to participate in the selection for their own "resettlement" was a conscious act on the part of the Nazis, designed to degrade Jewish officials by making them accomplices to the "Final Solution." When faced with these difficult decisions, Jewish leaders reacted in different ways.

In the following reading, author Bea Stadtler presents several cases in which Judenrat officials made incredibly difficult choices, choices that meant not only life or death for themselves but also affected their families and other Jews in the ghetto.

We know the saying "Do not judge your neighbor until you have been in his shoes." Probably as you watch a film, or view TV, you think about how you would feel and act if you were the hero or the victim. Would you be brave? Or would you really be a coward? Immediately, of course, you answer—you would be brave. But in the secret hiding place of your heart you are not so sure.

It is not often easy to be brave. Sometimes we are surprised by the criminal, and we don't think of being brave—just give him money and get it over with. Sometimes the crime begins as something very small, and every few days additional elements are added, until it becomes a very large and horrible crime.
heads of the community (called the *Judenrat*). These Jews were placed in the position of choosing who would remain alive—at least for the moment. It is not easy to be appointed to a position of power and leadership when that power is only for the death of your own people.

In Warsaw, Poland, Adam Czerniakow was appointed head of the Jewish Council. He had been born in Poland in 1880, into an educated, middle-class family. Although he received a degree in chemical engineering, he did not become successful as an engineer. He did become a successful teacher in a vocational school. . . .

When the Germans appointed him to head the *Kehilla* or community, they ordered him to set up a council of 24 elders—the *Judenrat*. Most of the people he appointed tried to get out of serving, but Czerniakow pleaded with them. and finally they accepted positions on the council.

. . . Czerniakow, . . . was caught between the Germans' impossible demands and the struggle to ease the terrible restrictions on his people. He was blamed for everything that went wrong in the Ghetto.

One day, for no apparent reason, Nazi soldiers broke into his office, beat him, kicked him, and threw him down the stairs, and then took him to jail. As he discovered more about the evil intentions of the Nazis, he began carrying poison with him.

Just before he died, he wrote: "Because employees of the Judenrat and their families are not being deported yet, I have asked that the craftsmen and garbage collectors also not be deported. . . ."

On July 23, 1942, the Nazis came to him to sign the mass deportation order that would send the Jews of the ghetto to their death in the concentration camps. He refused to sign, choosing instead to commit suicide. He left a note for his colleagues which begged them not to think of him as a coward. "I am helpless, my heart breaks from pain and pity. I can no longer stand this. . . ."

. . . Ugo Foa, in the Rome Ghetto, kept reassuring the Jews of Rome that they were safe. The Nazis promised protection for the Jews of the ancient city, living in the shadow of the Pope. But the Pope was more concerned with the possibility that the Italians might become Communists than he was about the murder of the Jews. Though Foa was warned about the deportations and gas chambers, he kept telling himself and others that the Jews of the Holy City of Rome would be spared.

Important Jews in the community begged Foa to destroy the lists of the thousands of Jews who lived in Rome. He refused to do so. On a Sabbath day, October 16, 1943, the Nazis, aided by the lists that they had taken from Foa's office, rounded up the Jews of Rome and deported them.

Chaim Rumkowksi of the Lodz Ghetto was different. It is believed that he sought the leadership of the ghetto, so that he would have power and be important. Through this power, he thought he could gain wealth, and people would look up to him. But this was at the expense of other Jews in the Lodz Ghetto. He was a great organizer, though, and organized workshops, hospitals, and schools. Rumkowski had a sincere liking for little children which, however, did not stop him from leading them to the railroad station to certain death. . . .

He became very dramatic wearing a long cloak and shining boots, carrying a cane, and always insisting that a gray horse draw his carriage. He permitted no opposition, and allowed no negative or critical writings. He was considered an evil and terrible dictator by those poor Jews of the ghetto. However his ghetto was the best organized and most productive of all the ghettos. Because of this the Lodz Ghetto was the last to be destroyed. . . . When his usefulness to the Nazis was over, he was sent to the gas chamber along with the rest of the Jews of Lodz.

Another leader of a smaller Jewish community was shot because he refused to hand over children, sick, and aged people to the Nazis. "I am no master over human life," he told the Nazis. "I will not give you Jews." In another community, the Nazis demanded that both Jews and non-Jews fulfill a quota for a supposed act of sabotage against them. The non-Jews supplied the quota, but the Jewish leader refused, saying "you may take *me* away, but I am not going to deliver innocent people to their death." He was killed. Many leaders resigned and were killed by the Nazis because they refused to be tools in the hands of the killers.

One desperate leader said: "I must select people for deportation for gassing. If I refuse I'll be shot. This would be the simplest solution for me. But then what happens? The Nazis have said if I die, they will make the selections. That would mean the rabbis, scholars, poets would go in the oven first. . . . I no longer enjoy being alive. If you know a better way than the one I have found, show it to me, and if you don't, tell me: shall I stay or shall I have myself shot?"

Questions for Discussion

1. Why did the Nazis organize the Judenrat? What advantages did it have for them? Were there any advantages for the Jews? Explain.
2. Why did the Judenrat pose serious moral dilemmas for the Jewish leaders? What were some of these dilemmas? Why would Jews agree to serve on the Judenrat?
3. In February 1940, Adam Czerniakow was offered a certificate to go to Palestine. He refused to leave and was very angry at those leaders who decided to leave the ghetto. How do you react to this?
4. Evaluate each of the leaders' decisions discussed in the reading. Which do you consider to have displayed courage? Cowardice? Explain. Is courage necessary for effective leadership? Explain.
5. The Jewish Police were actually known as the "Order Service." What does this title tell you about their function

Definitions

ghettos—areas of large cities in which Jews were forced to live
deportation—Nazi process of transporting Jews to the death camps

The Warsaw Ghetto

Bea Stadtler

The largest of all the ghettos created by the Nazis was in Warsaw. Over 400,000 Jews were eventually confined to an area of just over one square mile. The ghetto was an environment of lingering death. Food was restricted to those with ration cards and was very limited. Many people starved to death. Sanitation facilities were poor, and typhoid became a major problem. It was almost impossible to maintain a normal program of cleanliness. Corpses lay in the street until they were picked up in lorries and buried in the Jewish cemetery outside the ghetto. Later the Nazis would argue that they were killing dirty people who carried infection with them; people became a "hygienic" problem in the mind of the Nazis. Yet, as Bea Stadtler shows us, in the midst of such degradation and deprivation, the spirit of Jewish life continued. Faith in the future was maintained as illegally operated schools as well as theater, music, and the arts flourished.

That faith continued—until the very end.

In 1940 a Jewish ghetto was established in Warsaw and a brick wall built around it. The wall was to keep the Jews inside the ghetto and all others out. The wall enclosed approximately 840 acres. . . . [which] is about one and a third miles square or 24 square blocks. Into this area, where about 160,000 people were originally, somewhere between 330,000 and 500,000 Jews were now forced to live.

Jews were forced to leave homes in other parts of the city and to move into the ghetto. They had no wagons to move furniture and clothing and so took only what they could carry on their backs or in hand-wagons or baby buggies. Often three and four families were forced to live together in one room.

The Germans did not provide enough food for even half the number of people in the ghetto. The bowl of soup that was eaten was sometimes boiled from straw. It was forbidden to bring food into the ghetto and though some small amounts were smuggled in, many Jews starved to death. . . .

Because they were made to live in such crowded conditions, the terrible disease, typhoid, began to spread. There was little water and it was not fit for drinking. Sanitary conditions were very poor. Many Jews in the ghetto died from typhoid, and most were sickened through weakness.

Life was bitter. A few Jews exploited other Jews, a handful thought they would save their lives by working with the Germans, but most of the Jews behaved in a humane fashion, and many even heroically.

Emanuel Ringelblum, the historian, speaks in his diary of attempts to grow food for the ghetto. Zionist youth organizations . . .tried to plant vegetables on tiny patches of land. Small gardens were planted on the places where houses had been burned down. Vegetables were grown on balconies and even rooftops.

In spite of all the filth and starvation, some of the leaders tried to raise the low spirits of the inhabitants of the ghetto. Although schools for children were forbidden, they existed underground on all levels. In back rooms, on long benches, near a table, schoolchildren sat and learned. In time of danger, the children learned to hide their books under their clothes. There were classes and lectures for adults. There were also lectures and classes for medical students; laboratories were established. Theater groups performed plays in Yiddish right up until the time the ghetto was destroyed. Artists, musicians, and writers in the ghetto were encouraged.

Chaim Kaplan writes, "The idea that all Jews are responsible for each other has stopped being merely a slogan. 'Courtyard committees' have been set up and are taking care of all the residents of the courtyard, even middle-class and wealthy ones. They established food kitchens and a permanent fund for soup kitchens. . . ."

Kaplan even tells in his diary how Hanukkah was celebrated in 1940. Hanukkah parties were held in every courtyard. "We arranged a celebration in our courtyard for which we charged, and then gave the proceeds toward feeding the poor in our courtyard. . . ."

Kaplan wrote, "there is even dancing, although the stomach is empty. It is almost a *mitzvah* to dance. The more one dances, the more it is a sign of his belief in the 'eternity of Israel.' Every dance is a protest against our oppressors."

Kaplan felt that the residents of the ghetto tried their best to assist fellow Jews in misfortune. There was a Self-Aid organization that raised half a million zlotys to support the needy. . . .

The Nazi idea of having a little fun was to come into the ghetto to beat up old people, shoot children, and help themselves to anything they wanted. But a time came when Germans dared not come within the ghetto walls, except in large groups, armed with machine guns. . . .

Questions for Discussion

1. What was life like for the majority of those living in the Warsaw ghetto?
2. Do you agree with Chaim Kaplan that "every dance is a protest against our oppressors"?
3. When Blacks were enslaved in the United States, did they react to their situation in a similar way? In a different way? Explain.

Hunger Is My Father

Author Unknown

Some Jews expressed their feelings about experiences in the ghetto in poetry. For some, it served as a way of dealing with the daily horror, while for others it may have been a way to leave a record for the world to see and judge.

Dr. Murray J. Kohn, a survivor, has published a collection of Holocaust poetry that allows the reader to share the most personal feelings of the victims. The poems, translated from Yiddish, Hebrew, and Polish, deal with a broad range of human emotions, from love to fear, from hope to hopelessness, from rejection of God to His devotion. Holocaust poetry also provides us with insights into the difficult moral decisions that had to be made by Jews and how many struggled in an attempt to maintain their faith in God.

Hunger is my father.
I am the Ghetto thief
A thief with a yellow badge.
In the morning dusk
When a wagon with fresh bread passes by
My heart is famished
And my eyes weep.

Listen to me, O Lord, from on High
I have never been a thief before
But see how they gorge themselves
Like gluttons
While others starve
And curse their bitter fate.

Hear me, O Lord,
Your name is sacred to me.
Grant me strength and dexterity
Eyes like fire
And feet faster than deer,
To enable me to get some food.

The police catch me with a bread in my hand
They beat me with sticks and a whip
I don't care whether I live or die
What else can they do to me?

I jump the bread wagon and grab a bread
They shout and yell
While my teeth dig in . . .

I thank You, Lord,
For the darkness of the nights
Which You have given me.
When everybody is sleeping
The struggle for life
For me just begins.

Forgive me, O Lord,
For my transgressions.
The world has chased me away from You.
I became a thief in the Ghetto
A hoodlum
Among men and human beasts . . .

Questions for Discussion

1. What is the significance of the title of the poem, "Hunger is My Father"?
2. What human emotions does the poet express? Explain.
3. The "ghetto thief" asks God's forgiveness for violating His laws by stealing. What alternatives did he have? What were the probable consequences of each alternative? What would you have done? Is stealing ever justified? Explain. Was the "thief" a "hoodlum among men and human beasts"?

Definitions

dexterity—mental or physical skills
transgressions—violations of the laws of God or society

The Shopkeeper's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

We have already read about the role of the Judenrat in Nazi-created ghettos. Below is one of the situations faced by Judenrat members.

Georgi Pytrosenko is a member of the Vilna Judenrat. He was a well-respected shopkeeper in the Jewish community and reluctantly accepted participation on the Judenrat. Georgi has been on the committee for fourteen months, and in that time he has aided in the distribution of food and provision for employment in the ghetto. Although conditions are terrible and typhus has broken out, most Jews have been able to survive. But now the situation has changed dramatically.

The Germans have just demanded that on Friday morning at 10:00 A.M., 6,000 men, women and children should be standing at the *Umschlagplatz* (courtyard at the train station) for "resettlement." The Judenrat has been held responsible for the selection of those people to be deported.

Several months later, Georgi learned some devastating news: those Jews sent on trains for "resettlement" were actually sent to death camps to be gassed. He was shocked by this news and realized that he was expected to help make the next selection of Jews in two days. Georgi has to decide what he is going to recommend to the Judenrat. He also has to consider whether he should tell the Jewish population what he has learned.

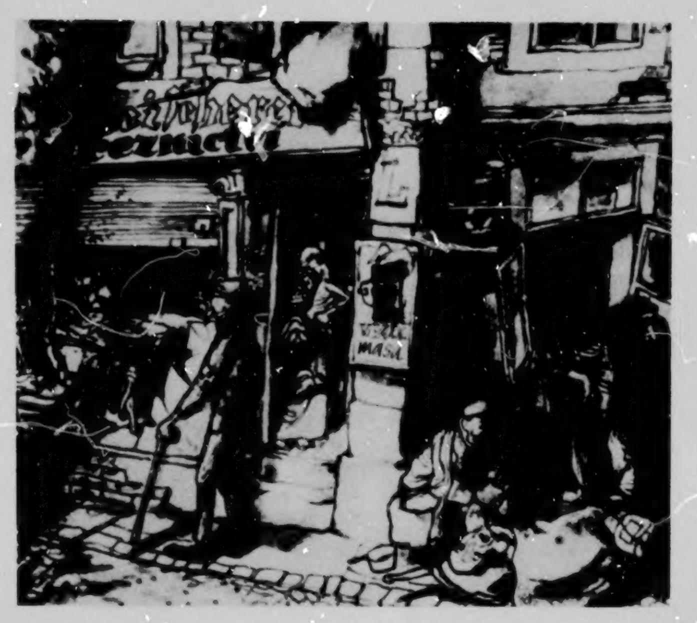
What should Georgi do?

Questions for Discussion

1. What alternatives were available to Georgi? What were the probable consequences of each alternative? Does he have a meaningful choice?
2. Should the Jewish population be told?
3. Do you feel that the Judenrat should be held as responsible as the Germans for murdering those who were selected?
4. On what basis should Georgi make his decision?

Ghetto Scene—Theresienstadt

Leo Haas



Theresienstadt (Terezin) was a concentration camp about 35 miles from Prague, Czechoslovakia. Originally, it had the reputation of an especially humane detention center. Jews who were taken there believed that they were safe in a "model ghetto." That belief died as Reinhard Heydrich designated it as a transit station on the way to the death camps. Leo Haas, a Czech Jew and artist, was arrested by the Gestapo in 1939 and sent to a forced labor camp. In 1942 he was ordered to Theresienstadt and then later to other camps. After the war, he retrieved over 400 drawings hidden in the walls of Theresienstadt.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why do you think the Nazis created a "model ghetto"?
2. Describe the drawing. How would you explain creativity under such a harsh and extreme situation?

S.S.

The Third Reich was not the creation of one man, no matter how powerful he may have been. Many thousands of Germans eagerly participated in building and ruling over this empire.

No other Nazi organization has received as much attention as the SS (*Schutzstaffel:* Elite Guard). Originally the personal guard of Adolf Hitler, it became the elite army in Nazi Germany. For many Germans, the SS served as a means of gaining status and upward mobility in the Third Reich. Many professionals, including lawyers, doctors, engineers, theologians, scientists, and teachers voluntarily became members.

Heinrich Himmler, leader of the SS, and

Adolf Hitler modeled the SS structure after the Jesuits, a religious order of the Catholic Church noted for their obedience to the Pope's authority. Another influence was Benito Mussolini's elite force. The SS slogan, "Believe! Obey! Fight!" was taken directly from the Italian *"Credere! Obbedire! Combattere!"* The black shirts worn by the SS were also worn by Mussolini's elite. The SS responsible for guard duty in the concentration camps were taken from what was called the "Death's Head" units. That group's symbol was taken from the Italian *Squadristi*.

Accepting the belief that the strong must be cruel, the SS saw it as their duty to kill the helpless and the weak. Yet the experience of the *Einsatzkommando* units on the Eastern front, savagely shooting old men, women, and children, was too much even for some of the SS. Himmler told them, "We can say that we have carried out this heaviest of our tasks in a spirit of love for our people." Himmler would then tell some of his fellow officers that another less messy, more efficient means of killing had to be found.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why would people voluntarily join the SS?

Nazi Leadership

The Reverend Harry Cargas, in his book, *A Christian Response to the Holocaust*, asks:

> "Who were the architects who designed the ovens into which people were delivered for cremation? Who meticulously executed the plans for the efficient gas chambers into which naked men, women and children were herded to die? Who originated the design for the camps, those models of economical, technological destruction? Which firms bid on the contracts to build the camps, the gas chambers, the ovens? Who bribed whom to win the coveted contracts, to gain the chance to make a profit and serve the Fuehrer by erecting houses of death and torture? Which doctors performed experiments on Jewish victims? Who shaved their heads, and all bodily hairs, to gain materials for cloth and rugs? We've heard of lampshades made from Jewish skins, of "enforcers" throwing Jewish victims—most of them dead, but not all—into huge pits, of brutal guards crushing Jewish babies' skulls with rifle butts, and shooting aged and unhealthy Jews who couldn't keep up on forced marches, and forcing naked Jews to stand for hours in freezing weather for either convenience or amusement. Who were these tormentors? What of the train engineers who guided the cattle cars packed with starving, dying, dead Jews to their locales of interment? And what of the ordinary citizens of many European nations who, as the death trains passed through their communities, would throw bits of bread into the cattle cars to be entertained by watching famished Jews fight over the food in an agonizing display of attempt at survival?" (pgs. 3-4)

The following is a short list of the occupational backgrounds of some leading Nazis. An operation as immense as the efficient process of murder demanded the services of many educated people.

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Hans Frank	33	lawyer	Governor General of Poland; in Einsatzgruppe
Franz Six	24	professor of political science	Anti-Semitic expert; in Einsatzgruppe
Helmut Knochen	23	professor of literature	Colonel, SS; Commander of Security Police, Paris, 1940-44
Otto Ohlendorf	26	economist; doctorate in jurisprudence	In Einsatzgruppe

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Roland Freisler	40	lawyer; summa cum laude at Jena	President of the People's Court of Berlin, 1942-45; the "hanging judge"; at Wannsee Conference
Joachim Mugrowski	28	professor of bacteriology	Head of SS Health Dept
Paul Blobel	—	architect	In Einsatzgruppe
Ernst Biberstein	34	Protestant pastor	In Einsatzgruppe; Blobel's colleague
Richard Korheer	30	statistician	Himmler's Institute for Statistics; devout Catholic
Karl Brandt	29	physician	Hitler's private surgeon; conducted medical experiments in camps
Karl Clauberg	35	physician	Sterilized women at Auschwitz and Ravensbruck
Leonard Conti	33	physician	Reich "Health" leader; wrote books on racist medicine; interested in artificial insemination; director of German Red Cross
Franz Gurtner	52	lawyer	Reich Minister of Justice; originator of "Night and Fog Decree" of Dec 7. 1941 allowing Nazis to seize persons "endangering German security"
Johan von Leers	31	lawyer	Nazi propagandist
Walter Schellenberg	33	lawyer	Number 2 man in Gestapo after Himmler
Kurt Becher	24	grain salesman	SS Colonel; assistant to Himmler; head of SS horse purchasing commission; later directed to conduct negotiations to exchange Jews for money.
Robert Mulka	—	businessman	Death camp commandant at Auschwitz
Robert Ley	43	chemist	Head of German Labor Front
Victor Bracke	28	student of economics	Helped set up camps in Poland
Ludwig Muller	50	Evangelical theologian	Reich Bishop 1933-35; confidante on church-state problems
Josef Mengele	22	physician; degrees in philosophy and medicine	"Medical experiments" at Auschwitz; responsible for "selection" in the death camp
Karl Gebhardt	35	physician	Conducted "medical experiments" at Ravensbruck

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Victor Capesius	26	physician	Headed camp pharmacy at Auschwitz
Werner Best	30	lawyer	First legal advisor to SD and Gestapo
Hans Globke	35	lawyer	Helped frame Nuremburg laws of 1935; high official in Minister of Interior
Kurt Lischka	23	law student at Breslau	Ran Compiegne, a concentration camp in France; head of Secret Police in Paris
Otto Ambros	—	chemist	Top I.G. Farben executive; expert on Buna and poison gas at I.G. Farben at Auschwitz
Albert Speer	28	architect	Minister of Armaments and War Production
August Hirt	35	anthropologist and surgeon	SS Director of Anatomical Research; studied skulls
Gregor Ebner	—	physician	Head of Lebensborn program
Herta Oberhauser	—	physician	She gave lethal injections to women at Ravensbruck
Willi Frank	30	physician	Chief of Dental Station at Auschwitz
Bernhart Rost	40	secondary school teacher	Reich Minister of Science, Education and Culture
Waldemar Klingelhofer	—	professional opera singer	In Einsatzgruppe
Alfred Rosenberg	40	educated as engineer	Hon. General, SS; writer of numerous books
Fritz Todt	42	construction engineer	Reich Minister of Armaments and Munitions; chief engineer in charge of construction at I.G. Farben Works at Auschwitz
Ernst Grawitz	34	physician	Chief of SS medical service; head of German Red Cross
Gerhart Wagner	45	physician	One of the originators of the Euthanasia program
Sigmund Rascher	24	physician	Did "freezing" experiments at Dachau
Wilhelm Frick	56	lawyer	Reich Minister of the Interior; close friend of Hitler
Ernst Kaltenbrunner	30	lawyer	Chief of the SD
Otto Thierach	44	lawyer	Reich Minister of Justice 1942-45
Heinz Kammler	—	construction engineer	Head of SS Works Dept; built gas chambers at Auschwitz

Name	Age in 1933 (Beginning of Third Reich)	Profession	Position in Reich
Fritz Reinhardt	38	schoolmaster	Leader of Nazi party school for orators
Arthur Seyss-Inquart	41	lawyer	Reich Commissioner for the Netherlands
Hermann Behrends	26	lawyer	First leader of Berlin SD; major general in SS
Richard Gluecks	44	businessman	Head of Concentration Camp Inspectorate
Herbert Linden	—	physician	Member of Heath Dept; commissioner of all insane asylums in Germany
Erwin Weimmann	—	physician	Under Blobel in Einsatzgruppen; former commander of Security Police and SD in Prague
Alfred Baeumler	46	professor, University of Berlin	Academic philosopher of the Reich
Dieter Allers	—	lawyer	Appointed chief administrative of T4 (Euthanasia Program)
Albert Hartl	—	Roman Catholic Priest	Member SS; appointed Chief of Church Information at the Reich Security Office
Hans Lammers	54	lawyer; jurist	Reich Minister and State Secretary of the Chancellory; expert on constitutional law; served during the Weimar Republic
Oswald Pohl	41	economist	Head of Economic Administration of the SS (WVHA)
Fritz Ter Meer	—	scientist, held doctorate	Chief executive of I.G. Farben
Walter Duerrfeld	—	engineer	Chief engineer of construction at I.G. Farben at Auschwitz

Questions for Discussion

1. What kinds of occupations are listed? What preliminary conclusions might be drawn about the average age of many Nazi leaders? Does this surprise you?
2. As indicated here, what occupations were represented in the *Einsatzgruppen?*
3. Does an "educated" professional like a medical doctor or a lawyer have any special responsibility to people or to society?
4. How do you think the professional skills of these people were used to carry out Nazi policy?
5. What values should an educated person have? What values should an uneducated person have?

Definitions

SS—Political police, later also assigned the duty of administering the concentration and death camps
SD—the intelligence branch of the SS

Death at Dubno

Herman Graebe

A further step toward the carrying out of a policy of mass murder was the creation of the *Einsatzgruppen*. These special mobile killing units followed the German army into Eastern Europe where they rounded up Jews, often luring them by promising that they would be "resettled" elsewhere. At the trial of the *Einsatzgruppen* leaders at Nuremberg in 1947, Herman Graebe, manager of a German construction company, described how one group of victims was rounded up and executed in Dubno, the Ukraine, on October 5, 1942.

. . . My foreman and I went directly to the pits. I heard rifle shots in quick succession from behind one of the earth mounds. The people who had got off the trucks—men, women and children of all ages—had to undress upon the order of an S.S. man, who carried a riding or dog whip. They had to put down their clothes in fixed places, sorted according to shoes, top clothing and underclothing. I saw a heap of shoes of about 800 to 1,000 pairs, great piles of underlinen and clothing.

Without screaming or weeping these people undressed, stood around in family groups, kissed each other, said farewells and waited for a sign from another S.S. man, who stood near the pit, also with a whip in his hand. During the fifteen minutes that I stood near the pit I heard no complaint or plea for mercy . . .

An old woman with snow-white hair was holding a one-year-old child in her arms and singing to it and tickling it. The child was cooing with delight. The parents were looking on with tears in their eyes. The father was holding the hand of a boy about 10 years old and speaking to him softly; the boy was fighting his tears. The father pointed to the sky, stroked his head and seemed to explain something to him.

At that moment the S.S. man at the pit shouted something to his comrade. The latter counted off about twenty persons and instructed them to go behind the earth mound . . . I well remember a girl, slim and with black hair, who as she passed close to me, pointed to herself and said: "twenty-three years old."

I walked around the mound and found myself confronted by a tremendous grave. People were closely wedged together and lying on top of each other so that only their heads were visible. Nearly all had blood running over their shoulders from their heads. Some of the people were still moving. Some were lifting their arms and turning their heads to show that they were still alive. The pit was already two-thirds full. I estimated that it contained about a thousand people. I looked for the man who did the shooting. He was an S.S. man, who sat at the edge of the narrow end of the pit, his feet dangling into the pit. He had a tommy gun on his knees and was smoking a cigarette.

The people, completely naked, went down some steps and clambered over the heads of the people lying there to the place to which the S.S. man directed them. They lay down in front of the dead or wounded people; some caressed those who were still alive and spoke to them in a low voice. Then I heard a series of shots. I looked into the pit and saw that the bodies were twitching or the heads lying already motionless on top of the bodies that lay beneath them. Blood was running from their necks.

The next batch was approaching already. They went down into the pit, lined themselves up against the previous victims and were shot.

Questions for Discussion

1. What kind of men do you think were leaders of the *Einsatzgruppen?* What might cause people to participate in mass murder? Describe the attitude of the SS men at Dubno.
2. Although Herman Graebe provided important evidence at the trial, what options did he have at the time of the event he described? Should he bear some responsibility for what happened there?
3. Why do you suppose Graebe saw no signs of resistance by the Jews? Did he observe any acts of humanity at Dubno? Explain.

Definitions

Wehrmacht—the German army
"resettled"—Nazi term that meant transportation to the death camp

Solomon Tauber in Riga

Frederick Forsyth

The Nazis attacked the Soviet Union on June 22, 1941. On July 1, the Germans marched into Riga, the capital of Latvia. On July 7, Einsatzgruppe A organized a pogrom and reported 400 Jews killed. The actual killing was done by Latvians who wanted to help the Nazis.

The following excerpt from Frederick Forsyth's novel, *The Odessa File*, provides a compelling view of Nazi physical and psychological cruelty, the anti-Semitism of some Latvians, and a sense of the incredible choices which were faced by individual Jews trying to survive. Here, the character of Solomon Tauber, confined to the Riga ghetto, is witness to the torture of others, and then makes the ultimate choiceless choice of escorting his wife into the Dünamünde convoy.

For an excellent non-fictional account of the Riga Ghetto, see *Journey Into Terror* by Gertrude Schneider.

Our food rations were a half-liter apiece of so-called soup, mainly tinted water, sometimes with a knob of potato in it, before marching to work in the mornings, and another half-liter, with a slice of black bread and a moldy potato, on return to the ghetto at night.

Bringing food into the ghetto was punishable by immediate hanging before the assembled population at evening roll call on Tin Square. Nevertheless, to take that risk was the only way to stay alive.

As the columns trudged back through the main gate each evening, Roschmann and a few of his cronies used to stand by the entrance, doing spot checks on those passing through. They would call to a man or a woman or a child at random, ordering the person out of the column to strip by the side of the gate. If a potato or a piece of bread was found, the person would wait behind while the others marched through toward Tin Square for evening roll call.

When they were all assembled, Roschmann would stalk down the road, followed by the other SS guards and the dozen or so condemned people. The males among them would mount the gallows platform and wait with the ropes around their necks while roll call was completed. Then Roschmann would walk along the line, grinning up at the faces above him and kicking the chairs out from under, one by one. He liked to do this from the front, so the person about to die would see him. Sometimes he would pretend to kick the chair away, only to pull his foot back in time. He would laugh uproariously to see the man on the chair tremble, thinking he was already swinging at the rope's end, only to realize the chair was still beneath him. . . .

When a woman was caught bringing food into the camp, she was made to watch the hangings of the men first, especially if one was her husband or brother. Then Roschmann made her kneel in front of the rest of us, drawn up around three sides of the square, while the camp barber shaved her bald.

After roll call she would be taken to the cemetery outside the wire and made to dig a shallow grave, then kneel beside it while Roschmann or one of the others fired a bullet from his Luger point-blank into the base of the skull. No one was allowed to watch these executions, but word seeped through from the Latvian guards that he would often fire past the ear of the woman to make her fall into the grave with shock, then climb out again and kneel in the same position. Other times he would fire from an empty chamber, so there was just a click when the woman thought she was about to die. . . .

By the end of that first winter I was certain I could not survive much longer. The hunger, the cold, the damp, the overwork, and the constant brutalities had whittled my formerly strong frame down to a mass of skin and bones. Looking in the mirror, I saw staring back at me a haggard, stubbled old man with red-rimmed eyes and hollow cheeks. I had just turned thirty-five, and I looked double that. But so did everyone else. . . . Something happened in March that gave me another year of will power.

I remember the date even now. It was March 3, 1942, the day of the second Dünamünde convoy. About a month earlier we had seen for the first time the arrival of a strange van. It was about the size of a long single-decker bus, painted steel-gray, and without windows. It parked just outside the ghetto gates, and at morning roll call Roschmann said he had an announcement to make. He said there was a new fish-pickling factory just started at the town of Dünamünde, situated on the Düna River, about eighty miles from Riga. It offered light work, he said, good food, and good living conditions. Because the work was so light the opportunity was open only to old men and women, the frail, the sick, and the small children.

Naturally, many were eager to go to such a comfortable kind of labor. Roschmann walked down the lines, selecting those to go, . . . Finally more than a hundred were selected, and all climbed into the van. Then the doors were slammed shut, and the watchers noticed how tight they fitted together. The van rolled away, emitting no exhaust fumes. Later, word filtered back what the van was. There was no fish-pickling factory at Dünamünde; the van was a gassing van. In the parlance of the ghetto the expression "Dünamünde convoy" henceforward came to mean death by gassing.

On March 3 the whisper went around the ghetto that there was to be another Dünamünde convoy, and sure enough, at morning roll call Roschmann announced it. But there was no pressing forward to volunteer, so with a wide grin Roschmann began to stroll along the ranks, tapping on the chest with his quirt those who were to go. Astutely, he started at the fourth and rear rank, where he expected to find the weak, the old, and the unfit-for-work.

There was one old woman who had foreseen this and stood in the front rank. She must have been close to sixty-five, but in an effort to stay alive she had put on high-heeled shoes, a pair of black silk stockings, a short skirt even above her knees, and a saucy hat. She had rouged her cheeks, powdered her face, and painted her lips. . . . Reaching her as he walked by, Roschmann stopped, stared, and looked again. . . .

"Well, what have we here?" he cried, pointing to her with his quirt to draw the attention of his comrades in the center of the square guarding the hundred already chosen. "Don't you want a nice little ride to Dünamünde, young lady?"

Trembling with fear, the old woman whispered, "No, sir."

"And how old are you, then?" boomed Roschmann as his SS friends began to giggle. "Seventeen? Twenty?"

The old woman's knobbly knees began to tremble. "Yes, sir," she whispered.

"How marvelous," cried Roschmann. "Well, I always like a pretty girl. Come out into the center so we can all admire your youth and beauty."

So saying, he grabbed her by the arm and hustled her toward the center of Tin Square. Once there, he stood her out in the open and said, "Well now, little lady, since you're so young and pretty, perhaps you'd like to dance for us, eh?"

She stood there, shivering in the bitter wind, shaking with fear as well. She whispered something we could not hear.

"What's that?" shouted Roschmann. "You can't dance? Oh, I'm sure a nice young thing like you can dance, can't you?"

His cronies of the German SS were laughing. . . . The old woman shook her head.

Roschmann's smile vanished. "Dance," he snarled.

She made a few little shuffling movements, then stopped. Roschmann drew his Luger, eased back the hammer, and fired it into the sand an inch from her feet. She jumped a foot in the air from fright.

"Dance . . . dance . . . dance for us you hideous Jewish bitch," he shouted, firing a bullet into the sand beneath her feet each time he said, "Dance." . . .

When he had no more ammunition left he shouted, "Dance," again and slammed his jackboot into her belly. All this had happened in complete silence from us, until the man next to me started to pray. He was a Hasid, small and bearded, still wearing the rags of his long black coat, . . . He began to recite the *Shema*, over and over again, in a quavering voice that grew steadily louder. Knowing that Roschmann was in his most vicious mood, I too began to pray silently that the Hasid would be quiet. But he would not.

"*Shema Yisroel* . . " (Hear, O Israel . . .)

"Shut up," I hissed out of the corner of my mouth.

"*Adonai elohenu* . . ." (the Lord is our God . . .)

"Will you be quiet! You'll get us all killed."

"*Adonai eha-a-a-ad.*" (The Lord is One.) . . . It was just at that moment that Roschmann stopped screaming at the old woman. . .

"Who was that talking?" he screamed, striding toward me across the sand. "You—step out of line." I stepped forward as he arrived in front of me. . . .

His hand moved so quickly no one could see it. I felt only a sort of thump down the left side of my face. Even before it had started to bleed, Roschmann's hand moved again, the other way this time, and his quirt ripped open the other side of my face with the same loud bang in the ear and the feeling of something tearing. . . .

"Pick up that old hag and take her to the van," he barked.

And so, a few minutes ahead of the arrival of the other hundred victims, I picked up the old woman and carried her down Little Hill Street to the gate and the waiting van, pouring blood onto her from my chin. I set her down in the back of the van and made to leave her there. As I did so, she gripped my wrist in withered fingers with a strength I would not have thought she still possessed. She pulled me down toward her, squatting on the floor on the death van, and with a small cambric handkerchief that must have come from better days stanched some of the still flowing blood.

She looked up at me from a face streaked with mascara, rouge, tears, and sand, but with dark eyes bright as stars.

"Jew, my son," she whispered, "you must live. . . . You must live, so that you can tell them,

them outside in the other world, what happened to our people here. Promise me, swear it by the Torah."

And so I swore that I would live, somehow, no matter what the cost. Then she let me go. I stumbled back down the road into the ghetto, and halfway down I fainted.

In August 1942 there was another transport, from Theresienstadt, a camp in Bohemia where tens of thousands of German and Austrian Jews were held before being sent eastward to extermination. . . . There was one woman across on the other side of the square who caught my attention. There was something about her cast of features that rang a bell in my mind, although she was emaciated, thin as a rake, and coughing continuously.

Arriving opposite her, Roschmann tapped her on the chest and passed on. The Latvians following him at once seized her arms and pushed her out of line to join the others in the center of the square. . . .

Most of those selected that summer evening were formed into a column and marched to the ghetto gates by the Kapos. The column was then taken over by the Latvians for the last four miles to High Forest and death.

But as there was a gassing van standing by also at the gates, a group of about a hundred of the frailest of the selected ones was detached from the crowd. I was about to escort the other condemned men and women to the gates when SS Lieutenant Krause pointed to five of us Kapos. "You," he shouted, "take these to the Dünamünde convoy."

After the others had left, we five escorted the last hundred, most of them limping, crawling, or coughing, to the gates where the van waited. The thin woman was among them, her chest racked by tuberculosis. She knew where she was going—they all did—but like the rest she stumbled with resigned obedience to the rear of the van. She was too weak to get up, for the tailboard was high off the ground, so she turned to me for help. We stood and looked at each other in stunned amazement.

I heard somebody approach behind me. . . . The woman just stared at me, unblinking. The man behind me came forward. It was Captain Roschmann. . . .

"Do you know this woman?" he asked.

"Yes, *Herr Kapitän*," I answered.

"Who is she?" he asked. I could not reply. My mouth was gummed together as if by glue.

"Is she your wife?" he went on.

I nodded dumbly. . . .

"Well, now, where are your manners? Help the lady up into the van."

I still stood there, unable to move. He put his face closer to mine and whispered, "You have ten seconds to pack her in, or you will go yourself."

Slowly I held out my arm and Esther leaned upon it. With this assistance she climbed into the van. The other Kapos waited to slam the doors shut. When she was up, she looked down at me, and two tears came, one from each eye, and rolled down her cheeks. She did not say anything to me; we never spoke throughout. Then the doors were slammed shut and the van rolled away. The last thing I saw was her eyes looking at me.

I have spent twenty years trying to understand the look in her eyes. Was it love or hatred, contempt or pity, bewilderment or understanding? I shall never know.

When the van had gone, Roschmann turned to me, still grinning. "You may go on living until it suits us to finish you off, Tauber," he said. "But you are dead as of now."

And he was right. That was the day my soul died inside me. It was August 29, 1942.

Questions for Discussion

1. What forms of psychological and physical cruelty were used by Eduard Roschmann? Describe the variety of reaction to such forms of cruelty by the prisoners.
2. How do you account for the will to go on living among the Riga Jews in spite of the extreme cruelty and pain, and the apparent hopelessness of their situation?
3. Explain what the Dünamünde convoy was. How did the Nazis use deception to round up volunteers for the convoy?
4. Is it possible to judge the action taken by Tauber when he escorts his wife into the Dünamünde convoy? How does one understand this behavior?

Definitions

Shema—"Hear oh Israel, The Lord is our God, The Lord is One." This affirmation of faith is a central part of the Jewish prayer service. It is also recited by Jews before they die.

Torah—the first five books of the Bible.

Kapo—prisoner assigned to oversee other camp inmates.

Concentration and Death Camps

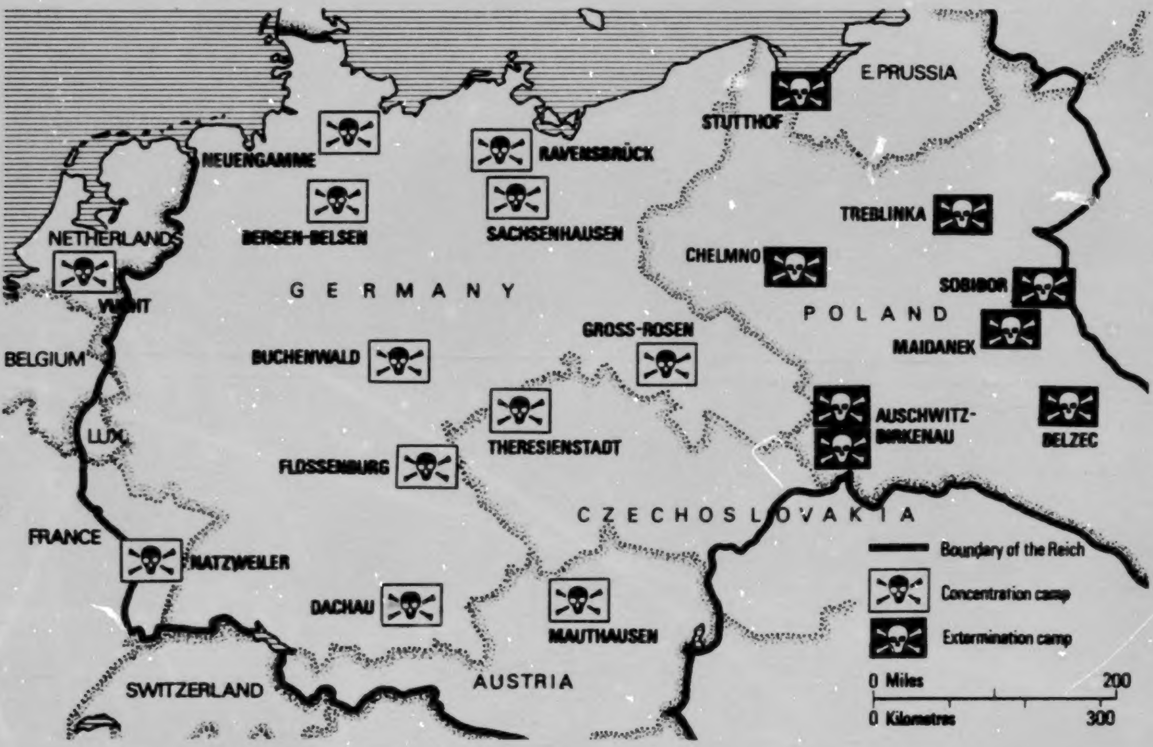
In an effort to deal with groups of people whom the Nazis considered to be "subhuman," a variety of concentration camps were established throughout Europe from 1933 until the end of World War II. The early camps began as detention centers in the mid-1930s for Communists, homosexuals, and political dissidents. With the onset of the war in 1939, the need for laborers resulted in the creation of forced labor camps in which prisoners became virtual slaves. Here, Jews and others were subjected to the most inhuman treatment, often resulting in death through illness, starvation, beatings, or execution.

In 1942, with the adoption of the "Final Solution," the Nazi plan to murder all European Jews, the emphasis shifted from concentration camps to death camps. The sole purpose of those camps was to murder millions of Jews by gassing them and burning their remains.

In December 1941, Chelmno, the first death camp, was established. The camp consisted of little more than a garage and several trucks in which carbon monoxide was the killing tool for about one thousand Jews a day. By July 1942, the camps at Belzec, Sobibor, and Treblinka were created. By the fall of 1943, these camps in northern Poland had already accomplished their tasks and ceased to function.

The locations of the hundreds of concentration camps and death camps reveal much about the Nazi mentality and raise some significant questions for discussion.

Austria	Ebensee, Gusen, Mauthausen
Belgium	Breendonck, Malines
Bulgaria	Somovit
Czechoslovakia	Novaky, Patronka, Petrzalka, Terezin, Zilina
Estonia	Aigali, Ereda, Goldfield, Kalevi, Klooga, Lagedi, Liiva, Vaivara
France	Agde, Argeles-sur-mer, Barcares, Beaune la Rodande, Camp du Richard, Compiegne, Drancy, Fort-Barraux, Gurs, Les Milles, Natzweiler-Struthof, Nexon, Pithiviers, Saint-Cyprien


E.PRUSSIA
STUTTHOF
NEUENGAMME
RAVENSBRÜCK
BERGEN-BELSEN
SACHSENHAUSEN
TREBLINKA
CHELMNO
SOBIBOR
NETHERLANDS
VUGHT
GERMANY
POLAND
MAIDANEK
GROSS-ROSEN
BELGIUM
BUCHENWALD
THERESIENSTADT
AUSCHWITZ-BIRKENAU
BELZEC
LUX.
FLOSSENBURG
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
FRANCE
NATZWEILER
Boundary of the Reich
Concentration camp
Extermination camp
DACHAU
MAUTHAUSEN
SWITZERLAND
AUSTRIA
0 Miles
200
0 Kilometres
300

Map of major concentration and death camps.

Galicia	Borislav, Buchach, Lvov, Plaszow
Germany	Arbeitsdorf, Bergen-Belsen, Bochum, Brunswick, Buchenwald, Cottbus, Dachau, Dora, Esterwegen, Flossenburg, Grossrosen, Lichtenburg, Nevengamme, Niederhagen, Oranienburg, Ravensbruck, Sachsenhausen, Wells
Greece	Haidon
Hungary	Kistaresa
Italy	Bolzano, Fossoli, Mantua, Raab
Latvia	Kaiserwald, Salaspils
Libya	Giado, Homs
Lichtenburg	Lichtenburg
Lithuania	Kaunas, Ponary
Netherlands	Amersfoort, Vught, Westerbork
Poland	Auschwitz, Belzec,* Belzyce, Birkenau,* Bogusze, Bronna Gora, Budzyn, Burggrabben, Chelmno,* Chodosy, Chryzanow, Ciezanow, Elbing, Gerdaven, Heiligenbeil, Jaktorow, Jesau, Karczew, Kelbasin, Kielce, Kosaki, Lackie, Wielkie, Majdanek,* Miedzyrzec Podalski, Mielec, Mlyniewo, Nisko, Peikinia, Plew, Pomiechowek, Praust, Radomsko, Sasov, Schippenbeil, Seerapen, Skarzysko-Kamienna, Sobibor,* Stolp, Stutthof, Thorn, Treblinka,* Tyszowce, Zaglebia, Zaprudy, Zaslaw, Zawarnice, Zbaszyn
Rumania	Caracal, Markulesci
Russia	Akmechetka, Bogdanovka, Bratslav, Domanevka, Golta, Kamenka-Bugskaya, Koldychevo, Maly Trostinek, Odessa, Paczara, Sekiryani, Targu-Jiu, Tiraspol, Vapnyarka, Volkoysk, Yedintsy, Zborov
Yugoslavia	Ada, Djakovo, Jadovna, Jasenovac, Loborgrad, Saymishte

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*Death Camps

Questions for Discussion

1. Where were most of the concentration and death camps located? How can their location be explained? Were there any economic or other advantages for the Nazis in the placement of these camps?
2. Do you believe it was possible for millions of people to have been tortured and murdered in the death camps without the local population being aware of what was happening? Explain.
3. Historian Raul Hilberg has written on the role of Europe's railways in transporting victims to the camps. Thousands of written orders were sent from office to office, from railway depot to railway depot listing the number of "passengers" and the cost of shipping them. How do you think the railroad workers involved in forwarding these orders rationalized their actions?
4. What is the term "extermination" most associated with? Are we adopting the language of the Nazis when we refer to "extermination camps"?

Nazi Language

During the twentieth century, we have learned that words need not serve the purpose of honest communication. In fact, words are often used to hide truth and become a means of deceiving people. During the Holocaust, Nazi language not only shielded reality from their victims but also softened the truth of the Nazi involvement in mass murder. This manipulation of language is still practiced in the modern world.

German Word	Literal Meaning	Real Meaning
1. Ausgemerzt	exterminated (insects)	murdered
2. Liquidiert	liquidated	murdered
3. Erledigt	finished (off)	murdered
4. Aktionen	actions	mission to seek out Jews and kill them

	German Word	Literal Meaning	Real Meaning
5.	Sonderaktionen	special actions	special mission to kill Jews
6.	Sonderbehandlung	special treatment	Jews taken through death process in camp
7.	Sonderbehandelt	specially treated	sent through the death process
8.	Sauberung	cleansing	sent through the death process
9.	Ausschaltung	elimination	murder of Jews
10.	Aussiedlung	evacuation	murder of Jews
11.	Umsiedlung	resettlement	murder of Jews
12.	Exekutivemassnahme	executive measure	order for murder
13.	Entsprechend behandelt	treated appropriately	murdered
14.	Der Sondermassnahme zugeführt	conveyed to special measure	killed
15.	Sicherhistspoilzeilich durchgearbeitet	worked over in security police measure	murdered
16.	Lösung der Judenfrage	solution of the Jewish question	murder of Jewish people
17.	Bereinigung der Judenfrage	cleaning up the Jewish question	murder
18.	Judenfrei gemacht	made free of Jews	all Jews in an area killed
19.	Spezialeinrichtunger	special installations	gas chambers and crematorium
20.	Badeanstalten	bath houses	gas chambers
21.	Leichenkeller	corpse cellars	crematorium
22.	Hechenholt Foundation		diesel engine located in shack at Belzec used to gas Jews
23.	Durekgeschleusst	dragged through	sent through killing process in camp
24.	Endlosung	the Final Solution	the decision to murder all Jews
25.	Hilfsmittel	auxiliary equipment	gas vans for murder

Question for Discussion

1. Are you aware of any use of language in American culture that also serves to hide real meaning? Do advertisers often use words deceptively? How do politicans sometimes use language to mask their real values? Give some examples from daily life.

Night

Elie Wiesel

In 1940, Auschwitz, originally a Polish military barracks, was turned into one of the largest concentration and death camps. Built in southwestern Poland on a major railway line between Cracow and Vienna, the camp grew to 40 square miles and contained more than 100,000 prisoners. Gas chambers were built in 1942 in the section of the camp called Birkenau.

Elie Wiesel is probably the best known survivor of Auschwitz. In the following selection from his autobiographical work *Night,* Wiesel describes his family's arrival at Auschwitz in 1944, and the process of "selection" which was to determine which of them lived or died.

The Nazi system extended to the identification of different people by the color of the patches on their clothes. Black was worn by Gypsies, green by professional criminals (many of whom were as anti-Jewish as the SS guards), pink by homosexuals, purple by Jehovah's Witnesses, red by Communists and other "politicals," and yellow by Jews. Such identification was also intended to separate inmates from each other.

The cherished objects we had brought with us thus far were left behind in the train, and with them, at last, our illusions.

Every two yards or so an SS man held his tommy gun trained on us. Hand in hand we followed the crowd.

An SS noncommissioned officer came to meet us, a truncheon in his hand. He gave the order:

"Men to the left! Women to the right!"

Eight words spoken quietly, indifferently, without emotion. Eight short, simple words. Yet that was the moment when I parted from my mother. I had not had time to think, but already I felt the pressure of my father's hand: we were alone. For a part of a second I glimpsed my mother and my sisters moving away to the right. Tzipora held Mother's hand. I saw them disappear into the distance; my mother was stroking my sister's fair hair, as though to protect her, while I walked on with my father and the other men. And I did not know that in that place, at that moment, I was parting from my mother and Tzipora forever. I went on walking. My father held onto my hand.

Behind me, an old man fell to the ground. Near him was an SS man, putting his revolver back in its holster.

My hand shifted on my father's arm. I had one thought—not to lose him. Not to be left alone.

The SS officers gave the order:

"Form fives!"

Commotion. At all costs we must keep together.

"Here, kid, how old are you?"

It was one of the prisoners who asked me this. I could not see his face, but his voice was tense and weary.

"I'm not quite fifteen yet."

"No. Eighteen."

"But I'm not," I said. "Fifteen."

"Fool. Listen to what *I* say."

Then he questioned my father, who replied:

"Fifty."

The other grew more furious than ever.

"No, not fifty. Forty. Do you understand? Eighteen and forty."

He disappeared into the night shadows. A second man came up, spitting oaths at us.

"What have you come here for, you sons of bitches? What are you doing here, eh?"

Someone dared to answer him.

"What do you think? Do you suppose we've come here for our own pleasure? Do you think we asked to come?"

A little more, and the man would have killed him.

"You shut your trap, you filthy swine, or I'll squash you right now! You'd have done better to have hanged yourselves where you were than to come here. Didn't you know what was in store for you at Auschwitz? Haven't you heard about it? In 1944?"

No, we had not heard. No one had told us. He could not believe his ears. His tone of voice became increasingly brutal.

"Do you see that chimney over there? See it? Do you see those flames? (Yes, we did see the flames.) Over there—that's where you're going to be taken. That's your grave, over there. Haven't you realized it yet? You dumb bastards, don't you understand anything? You're going to be burned. Frizzled away. Turned into ashes."

He was growing hysterical in his fury. We stayed motionless, petrified. Surely it was all a nightmare? An unimaginable nightmare?

I heard murmurs around me.

"We've got to do something. We can't let ourselves be killed. We can't go like beasts to the slaughter. We've got to revolt."

There were a few sturdy young fellows among us. They had knives on them, and they tried to incite the others to throw themselves on the armed guards.

One of the young men cried:

"Let the world learn of the existence of Auschwitz. Let everybody hear about it, while they can still escape. . . ."

But the older ones begged their children not to do anything foolish:

"You must never lose faith, even when the sword hangs over your head. That's the teaching of our sages. . . ."

The wind of revolt died down. We continued our march toward the square. In the middle stood the notorious Dr. Mengele (a typical SS officer: a cruel face, but not devoid of intelligence, and wearing a monocle); a conductor's baton in his hand, he was standing among the other officers. The baton moved unremittingly, sometimes to the right, sometimes to the left.

I was already in front of him:

"How old are you?" he asked, in an attempt at a paternal tone of voice.

"Eighteen." My voice was shaking.

"Are you in good health?"

"Yes."

"What's your occupation?"

Should I say that I was a student?

"Farmer," I heard myself say.

This conversation cannot have lasted more than a few seconds. It had seemed like an eternity to me.

The baton moved to the left. I took half a step forward. I wanted to see first where they were sending my father. If he went to the right, I would go after him.

The baton once again pointed to the left for him too. A weight was lifted from my heart.

We did not yet know which was the better side, right or left; which road led to prison and which to the crematory. But for the moment I was happy; I was near my father. Our procession continued to move slowly forward.

Another prisoner came up to us:

"Satisfied?"

"Yes," someone replied.

"Poor devils, you're going to the crematory."

He seemed to be telling the truth. Not far from us, flames were leaping up from a ditch, gigantic flames. They were burning something. A lorry drew up at the pit and delivered its load—little children. Babies! Yes, I saw it—saw it with my own eyes . . . those children in the flames. (Is it surprising that I could not sleep after that? Sleep had fled from my eyes.)

So this was where we were going. A little farther on was another and larger ditch for adults.

I pinched my face. Was I still alive? Was I awake? I could not believe it. How could it be possible for them to burn people, children, and for the world to keep silent? No, none of this could be true. It was a nightmare. . . . Soon I should awake with a start, my heart pounding, and find myself back in the bedroom of my childhood, among my books. . . .

My father's voice drew me from my thoughts:

"It's a shame . . . a shame that you couldn't have gone with your mother. . . . I saw several boys of your age going with their mothers. . . ."

His voice was terribly sad. I realized that he did not want to see what they were going to do to me. He did not want to see the burning of his only son.

My forehead was bathed in cold sweat. But I told him that I did not believe that they could burn people in our age, that humanity would never tolerate it. . . .

"Humanity? Humanity is not concerned with us. Today anything is allowed. Anything is possible, even these crematories. . . ."

His voice was choking.

"Father," I said, "if that is so, I don't want to wait here. I'm going to run to the electric wire. That would be better than slow agony in the flames."

He did not answer. He was weeping. His body was shaken convulsively. Around us, everyone was weeping. Someone began to recite the Kaddish, the prayer for the dead. I did not know if it has ever happened before, in the long history of the Jews, that people have ever recited the prayer for the dead for themselves.

"*Yitgadal veyitkadash shmé raba*. . . . May His Name be blessed and magnified. . . ." whispered my father.

For the first time, I felt revolt rise up in me. Why should I bless his name? The Eternal, Lord of the Universe, the All-Powerful and Terrible, was silent. What had I to thank Him for?

We continued our march. We were gradually drawing closer to the ditch, from which an infernal heat was rising. Still twenty steps to go. If I wanted to bring about my own death, this was the moment. Our line had now only fifteen paces to cover. I bit my lips so that my father would not hear my teeth chattering. Ten steps still. Eight. Seven. We marched slowly on, as though following a hearse at our own funeral. Four steps more. Three steps. There it was now, right in front of us, the pit and its flames. I gathered all that was left of my strength, so that I could break from the ranks and throw myself upon the barbed wire. In the depths of my heart, I bade farewell to my father, to the whole universe; and in spite of myself, the words formed themselves and issued in a whisper from my lips: "*Yitgadal veyitkadash shmé raba*. . . . May His Name be blessed and magnified. . . . My heart was bursting. The moment had come. I was face to face with the Angel of Death. . . .

No. Two steps from the pit we were ordered to turn to the left and made to go into a barracks.

I pressed my father's hand. He said:

"Do you remember Madame Schächter, in the train?"

Never shall I forget that night, the first night in camp, which has turned my life into one long night, seven times cursed and seven times sealed. Never shall I forget that smoke. Never shall I forget the little faces of the children, whose bodies I saw turned into wreaths of smoke beneath a silent blue sky.

Never shall I forget those flames which consumed my faith forever.

Never shall I forget that nocturnal silence which deprived me, for all eternity, of the desire to live. Never shall I forget those moments which murdered my God and my soul and turned my dreams to dust. Never shall I forget these things, even if I am condemend to live as long as God Himself. Never.

The barracks we had been made to go into was very long. In the roof were some blue-tinged skylights. The ante-chamber of Hell must look like this. So many crazed men, so many cries, so much bestial brutality!

There were dozens of prisoners to receive us, truncheons in their hands, striking out anywhere, at anyone, without reason. Orders:

"Strip! Fast! *Los!* Keep only your belts and shoes in your hands. . . ."

We had to throw our clothes at one end of the barracks. There was already a great heap there. New suits and old, torn coats, rags. For us, this was the true equality: nakedness. Shivering with the cold.

Some SS officers moved about in the room, looking for strong men. If they were so keen on strength, perhaps one should try and pass oneself off as sturdy? My father thought the reverse. It was better not to draw attention to oneself. Our fate would then be the same as the others. (Later, we were to learn that he was right. Those who were selected that day were enlisted in the *Sonder-Kommando*, the unit which worked in the crematories. Bela Katz—son of a big tradesman from our town—had arrived at Birkenau with the first transport, a week before us. When he heard of our arrival, he managed to get word to us that, having been chosen for his strength, he had himself put his father's body into the crematory oven.)

Blows continued to rain down.

"To the barber!"

Belt and shoes in hand, I let myself be dragged off to the barbers. They took our hair off with clippers, and shaved off all the hair on our bodies. The same thought buzzed all the time in my head—not to be separated from my father.

Freed from the hands of the barbers, we began to wander in the crowd, meeting friends and acquaintances. These meetings filled us with joy—yes, joy—"Thank God! You're still alive!"

But others were crying. They used all their remaining strength in weeping. Why had they let themselves be brought here? Why couldn't they have died in their beds? Sobs choked their voices.

Suddenly, someone threw his arms around my neck in an embrace: Yechiel, brother of the rabbi of Sighet. He was sobbing bitterly. I thought he was weeping with joy at still being alive.

"Don't cry, Yechiel," I said. "Don't waste your tears. . . ."

"Not cry? We're on the threshold of death . . . Soon we shall have crossed over. . . . Don't you understand? How could I not cry?"

Through the blue-tinged skylights I could see the darkness gradually fading. I had ceased to feel fear. And then I was overcome by an inhuman weariness.

Those absent no longer touched even the surface of our memories. We still spoke of them—"Who knows what may have become of them?"—but we had little concern for their fate. We were incapable of thinking of anything at all. Our senses were blunted; everything was blunted as in a fog. It was no longer possible to grasp anything. The instincts of self-preservation, of self-defense, of pride, had all deserted us. In one ultimate moment of lucidity it seemed to me that we were damned souls wandering in the half-world, souls condemned to wander through space till the generations of man came to an end, seeking their redemption, seeking oblivion—without hope of finding it.

Toward five o'clock in the morning, we were driven out of the barracks. The Kapos beat us once more, but I had ceased to feel any pain from their blows. An icy wind enveloped us. We were naked, our shoes and belts in our hands. The command: "Run!" And we ran. After a few minutes of racing, a new barracks.

A barrel of petrol at the entrance. Disinfection. Everyone was soaked in it. Then a hot shower. At high speed. As we came out from the water, we were driven outside. More running. Another barracks, the store. Very long tables. Mountains of prison clothes. On we ran. As we passed, trousers, tunic, shirt, and socks were thrown to us.

Within a few seconds, we had ceased to be men. If the situation had not been tragic, we should have roared with laughter. Such outfits! Meir Katz, a giant, had a child's trousers, and Stern, a thin little chap, a tunic which completely swamped him. We immediately began the necessary exchanges.

I glanced at my father. How he had changed! His eyes had grown dim. I would have liked to speak to him, but I did not know what to say.

The night was gone. The morning star was shining in the sky. I too had become a completely different person. The student of the Talmud, the child that I was, had been consumed in the flames. There remained only a shape that looked like me. A dark flame had entered into my soul and devoured it.

So much had happened within such a few hours that I had lost all sense of time. When had we left our houses? And the ghetto? And the train? Was it only a week? One night—*one single night?*

How long had we been standing like this in the icy wind? An hour? Simply an hour? Sixty minutes?

Surely it was a dream.

Questions for Discussion

1. What advice is the young Wiesel given?
2. How were the prisoners initially dehumanized?
3. Why would the Nazis put a sign like "Arbeit Macht Frei" (Work Makes You Free) over the Auschwitz gate? Note that it was originally a slogan created by a founder of the International Labor Organization.
4. At one point in Rolf Hochhuth's play, *The Deputy*, Doctor Mengele states:

> "The truth is, Auschwitz refutes creator, creation, and the creature. Life as an idea is dead.

> This may well be the beginning of a great new era, a redemption from suffering . . . only one crime remains: cursed be he who creates life. I cremate life. That is modern humanitarianism—the sole salvation from the future."

What does this mean? On a spiritual level, what does Auschwitz represent?

5. On what date does Wiesel come to Auschwitz? Wiesel had come by cattle car from Hungary. What does this tell you about how much Hungarian Jews knew or wanted to believe about what was happening "far away"?
6. Often, those deported were told they could only take a very limited amount of baggage with them. Think about the most important *things* in your life and what, if placed in this situation, you would and would not try to take along.

Punishment in the Camps

Isabella Leitner's *Fragments of Isabella* is a memoir of her experience in Auschwitz. She was a young girl when she arrived at the death camp in 1944 with the rest of her family. Many of them would die in the gas chambers.

In the following selection, Leitner recalls the feelings of keeping from becoming a "musulman," one of the walking dead. She also tells the story of a friend who was continually punished by the infamous Irma Grese. Nineteen years old when she became a camp guard, Grese eventually was placed in charge of female prisoners at Auschwitz. She was a sadist who was particularly fascinated with the removal of breasts in Nazi experiments conducted at the camp.

Treblinka was one of the four main death camps in Poland (including Chelmno, Belzec, and Sobibor) used as killing centers primarily for Jews. Treblinka was an example of Nazi master deception. Passengers coming off the trains would walk down what was called the "Street of Deportees." False shop fronts were created to represent a baker's shop, a barber, a dentist, and other businesses. The street sign on the road to the gas chambers read "To The Ghetto." The Germans nicknamed the road *Himmelstrasse*, the "road to Heaven."

In the second selection from *Treblinka* Jean-Francois Steiner tells the story of one troubled Jew in Treblinka. It provides an example of the brutality inflicted on one man. Steiner, whose parents died in concentration camps when he was two, employs novelistic techniques to tell this true story. It also shows the beginning of a desire for revolt in the camp, a subject to which we will return in Unit V.

Auschwitz

Isabella Leitner

Selections. Selections. Selections. To weed out the *Musulmans*. To be a lone person in Lager C was perhaps a blessing. To have sisters still alive, not to be alone, was a blessing too, but fraught with tests daily, hourly: When this day ends, will there still be four of us?

If you are sisterless, you do not have the pressure, the absolute responsibility to end the day alive. How many times did that responsibility keep us alive? I cannot tell. I can only say that many times when I was caught in a selection, I knew I had to get back to my sisters, even when I was too tired to fight my way back, when going the way of the smoke would have been easier, when I wanted to, when it almost seemed desirable. But at those times, I knew also that my sisters . . . not only wanted me to get back to them—they expected me to get back. The burden to live up to that expectation was mine, and it was awesome.

Does staying alive not only for yourself, but also because someone else expects you to, double the life force? Perhaps. Perhaps. . . .

The responsibility of staying alive had its own inherent torture. At times it doubled the alertness, at times I wished I were alone, not to be asked to go constantly, on a twenty-four-hour basis, against the tide. After all, the business of Auschwitz was death. It is not everywhere that death is so easily to be gotten.

I am tired. Let me go. . . . No, we won't. Our business is life.

My darling sisters, you are asking too much. And I am asking too much of you. Yet the insanity of Auschwitz must be imbued with meaning if *living* is to be continued, . . .

Chicha was working in the *Unterkunft*. Some of the 50 kilos of belongings that we lugged on our backs the day they dragged us to the railroad station for deportation were sorted out in the *Unterkunft*. That is where Chicha's tears poured on my brother's pajamas when she recognized the patch my mother had sewn on them. The *Unterkunft* was one of the few places where so-called work was performed in Lager C. . . . The Germans kept us there not for work, but to become *Musulmans*, crematorium fodder.

Have you ever seen a *Musulman?* Have you ever weighed 120 pounds and gone down to 40? Something like that—not quite alive, yet not quite dead.

The *Unterkunft* was a place where on a few occasions you could go undetected while stealing something—the word for it was "organizing"—and the occasions when one could organize were very, very few. But Chicha once brought out a knife hidden in her shoes, and when we sliced our bread (Was it really bread? It tasted like sawdust) into paper-thin miracles, we were able to delude ourselves that we had a lot of food, that our daily ration was really bigger than we thought.

Of course, the delusion lasted only a little while. The incredible hunger quickly reminded us of the lie. But lie we did. In our minds it was one more act of defiance. *"You see, Hitler, we are smarter than you. This will keep* Musulman*ship away from us."*

Hell, no, it didn't. Our eyes sank deeper. Our skin rotted. Our bones screamed out of our bodies. Indeed, there was barely a body to house the mind, yet the mind was still working, sending out the messages *"Live! Live!"* . . .

Is the face a mirror? Is that mirror incapable of recording so much cruelty that it makes a complete turnabout and records beauty instead? How else could Irma Grese have been so perfectly beautiful? Flawless skin. A head of natural blond hair. Almost perfect features. Who made this beautiful breast? Who was responsible for this mockery?

Irma Grese—dressed in immaculate SS uniform, usually with a light-blue shirt, a silver pistol in her holster, a huge dog at her side. The beautiful monster, our twice daily visitor, trailing her merciless terror behind her. Bisexual.

It is said that Chicha appeals to her. This manifests itself only in the fact that she always recognizes her and either tortures her more than the others or (on one occasion) does not send her off to die. . . . But torture her she did, in a fiendish manner, one particular afternoon.

Lager C, our *Lager*, was designed to hold 30,000 prisoners, 1,000 in each block (barracks). On this late summer afternoon, the 30,000 prisoners, in rows of five, were once again being counted . . . and Grese was doing the counting. This was often a sham, with the SS claiming that a prisoner was missing, and therefore we would have to stand upright in line until every single prisoner was accounted for. . . .

At *Zeilappell*, all prisoners must stand erect for whatever number of hours the roll call lasts. It is one of the sacred rituals. Any deviation is a mortal sin. In retrospect, it seems to me that not standing erect was a subtle sign of the spirit ebbing away, the readiness to be off to the *Kremchy* (the crematorium). . . .

[A] girl resting on the ground was caught in the act by Grese. But Grese attributed the "crime" not to the girl, but to Chicha. . . . She yanked Chicha out of the line to punish her. She dragged her to the center of the *Lagerstrasse* for all to see how crime does not pay. She made her kneel, lifted Chicha's arms high in the air, and placed two heavy rocks in her hands. She then ordered Chicha to hold her arms straight up for the duration of the *Zeilappell*. *"And no wavering of the arms! If you do, you'll die! . . ."* And so she did, over and over again, taunting Chicha, *"Have you had enough? Do you like it?"* She would touch Chicha's arms with her whip. *"They are not straight enough. There you go."*

Thousands of eyes stared at the bonelike creature in the *Lagerstrasse* seemingly holding up mountains . . . She, the rock herself—with all the prisoners' eyes turned heavenward in prayer: "God, do not let her drop the rocks, because then she'll die, and a little bit of our spirit, our determination to live and tell this tale, will die with her. God, help us to imbue her with our unified spirit . . . keep our souls riveted to hers, and maybe we'll all live. Do not desert us now. The hour that pits good against evil is right here, right now, on this ugly piece of land, mutilated by gas chambers and crematoriums. . . .

A fury of thoughts rushed through our heads: *That human being out there on display in the* Lagerstrasse *is our sister. A halo is glowing around her shriveled body. Her strength is being tested ferociously. . . . Will she make it? How much longer can we endure her endurance?* . . .

The gentile woman from Budapest, she of noble birth, who was sent to Auschwitz because she had committed an unpardonable crime—she had helped her Jewish friends . . . I no longer remember her name, only her aristocratic face, drawn and hungry. . . . She died in the ovens later, but now she was with us, and we loved her, and she loved us. . . . On occasion, we actually talked of books. Strange must be the ways of the hungry, for even while the body is starving, the mind may crave nourishment too.

This gentile woman stood with us now as we watched Chicha, and her words will linger in my mind for all my days to come: "I had to save my friends. I just had to. Yet, through these months of suffering, I have thought of the luxurious ways of the privileged that I gave up. Yes, at times—ashamed as I am to say it—doubts, even regret, kept creeping into my head. But today"—and she took a long, compassionate look at Chicha—"I know with absolute certainty why I am here. This is where I belong. I could not be anywhere else. Guilt from a lavish life would tear my guts asunder while all of this is taking place around me. At this moment in history I belong here, with you, with the innocent, with Chicha, with her arms raised toward the heavens. I belong standing next to the three of you, . . . and I tell you with absolute certainty that she will make it."

As we stood there in our columns, endless hours passed. At last, Grese returned. She strode up to Chicha. She knew she had been defeated. "Put those rocks down," she said.

Treblinka

Jean-Francois Steiner

The chances of success of an escape had become practically nil when Langner decided to try his luck. . . . He had arrived in Treblinka like hundreds of thousands of other Jews. Like the others, he had not wanted to believe the rumors . . . , the tales of terror that were told in whispers. . . .

In the train that took him to Treblinka he had preferred to cling to the promises of the Germans rather than finally accept the truth. They were one hundred in his car, one hundred praying, weeping, discussing the exact purpose of their voyage. When one of them had stood up and said, "Let us revolt!" the others had given him the eternal argument: "If we revolt we will all be killed on the spot, whereas if we wait we may be killed too, but maybe not, and maybe not right away. . . ." When there had been no more water in the car, the children had begun licking the sweat on their mothers' faces, and the adults had withdrawn into themselves. Then the man who wanted to revolt had announced, "I'm getting out of here. Who wants to come with me?" As he asked this question, his eye had fallen on Langner, who without thinking replied, "Me!" A few men had tried to prevent them from tearing off the grating that covered the window, but they were too exhausted. . . . Langner and the other man had drawn straws to determine who would jump first, and fate had chosen the other man. Langner had seen him disappear with a sudden wrenching noise. He had seen him roll over, get up, and run zigzagging toward a clump of trees. At this moment shots had rung out and Langner had lost his desire to jump. He had collapsed at the foot of the window, weeping. . . .

When he arrived in Treblinka he had been saved by an old friend . . . who had recognized him. The fear had never left him, but another emotion had joined it: the sense of having acted like a coward in refusing to jump. He remembered the face of the man who had fled and saw him again, suddenly getting up amid the dying and saying, "Let us revolt!" simply, as if it were a natural thing. . . . What could you do with your bare hands against tanks, what could women and old men do against these strong young soldiers, well trained and well armed? It was madness. But now Langner lived in a world of madness, and the voice of the other man re-echoed in his heart. He still did not know how to revolt, but the idea filled him more each day, and little by little he forgot both his fear and his cowardice.

He got caught stupidly, slipping a wad of bank notes into his pocket while he was sorting clothes. Lalka concluded that he was preparing to escape and decided to make an example of him. For the first time he had a living culprit, and he wanted to take advantage of it. A gallows was erected in the middle of the yard, and Langner, who was already battered from the lashes he had just received, was hanged by the feet. . . . a Ukrainian guard stayed by the gallows, making Langner swing with his whip.

In the middle of the afternoon, when the last Jew of the convoy, duly undressed and searched, had taken the "road to heaven," all the prisoners were assembled on the sorting square and arranged in columns. Down there in the middle of the yard, Langner was swaying and moaning, begging the guard to finish him off. After a quarter of an hour of cap drill, when the ranks were impeccably straight, Lalka, who always planned his effects carefully, appeared.

"Jews," he began, pointing to Langner, "this Jew is going to die! For a Jew to die is not rare in Treblinka. I would even say that, generally speaking, that's why they come here. But this one who is hanging down there will not die like the rest. You have been in a position to notice the care we take to make our Jews die as nicely as possible. Well, we are going to take the same care to make this one die as slowly as possible."

Lalka spoke slowly, leaving long silences after each sentence. During these silences Langner's moans reached the prisoners who had to listen while standing motionless at attention.

"Jews," Lalka continued, "that you are afraid to die is a fact which is well known and which, personally, has always astonished me. I will confess frankly that I have never really understood this fanatical attachment to life. . . . I have never understood it, especially since it is often more difficult . . . more painful to live than to die. . . .

"Listen to him! What does he ask? To die. What does he beg his guard to do? To kill him. At last he has discovered wisdom. Unfortunately it is too late for him. But may his example serve as a lesson to you. You will have the rest of the afternoon to meditate on the disadvantages of trying to get away from us, for I doubt that he will die before evening."

When Lalka had finished his speech, he made the prisoners march by Langner single file. . . . Then he sent them back to work.

The afternoon lasted an eternity. No one said a word. The silence was so profound that Langner's groans could be heard from every corner of the immense yard. When he called for his mother, every man thought of his own. When he begged to be killed, every man wanted to die. Langner's agony was the agony of all of them, his cries were their cries, his pain their pain. They would have liked to run away so they would no longer hear, to stop their ears, to become deaf, if only they could stop hearing him, if only they could stop seeing the torn body of their brother which still quivered at each blow of the whip. In spite of themselves they looked at him secretly where he hung, bloody, mutilated, shapeless. . . . Suddenly he uttered a great cry that chilled the prisoners and the guards, and everyone thought that he was finally going to die. But immediately the prisoners heard him calling them in Yiddish:

"*Yiden! Yiden!* Jews, Jews my brothers!" (A silence, and once again the voice that seemed to come out of nowhere.) "Revolt! Revolt! Don't listen to their promises. You will all be killed. They can't let you leave this place after what you have seen. Even if they wanted to spare your lives they would be forced to kill you, for the world will never forgive them for what they are doing and they know it. Revolt! Avenge your fathers and your brothers, avenge yourselves. Save the honor of Israel! Since you are going to die, die fighting! Long live Israel, long live the Jewish people!"

At first the guards and the Germans, stupefied, had listened without understanding, but when Langner had said, "Long live Israel!" they had realized that it must be an appeal to resistance. Lalka had rushed over, grabbing a gun from a guard on the way. When he reached Langner he saw that his body was jerking violently. Enraged by this speech, which he had not understood but whose meaning he suspected, he seized the rifle by the barrel and clubbed Langner's head until the skull was shattered.

That night the barracks buzzed for a long time with passionate whispers. Everyone felt that Langner was right and that the only solution was revolt. . . . But how could they revolt? How could they find so much as a stick? Who could organize them so they would throw themselves on their killers as one man? In little groups the prisoners, who were on their guard against informers, discussed the possibilities of an uprising. No one believed that it could succeed, but many were ready to die, even if there was not a chance. . . .

A few months earlier these men had won back the right to die by committing suicide; now they were discussing the right to die by fighting. It was that night, in that buzzing barracks, in that insane world of Treblinka, that the miracle occurred at last: "the miracle in abdication."

Questions for Discussion

1. What does Leitner mean by "going the way of smoke" and "the responsibility of staying alive?"
2. In what way was Chicha's "organizing" an example of a small victory?
3. Leitner concludes this excerpt with a discussion of a woman from Budapest. What do you think of what the woman says?
4. Can you sympathize with Langner's fear when he is faced with jumping off the train?
5. Describe your feelings about Lalka and about Langner's final moments of life.

Definitions

lager—camp
zeilappel—roll call

Man's Search for Meaning

Viktor Frankl

The story of daily life in the concentration camps has been recorded in many books of testimony. Camp inmates were subjected to long days of arduous work while surviving on a diet of thin soup and moldy bread. Always subjected to continual humiliation from the SS guards, inmates had to learn to withstand an environment created to dehumanize them before they were killed.

This selection by Dr. Viktor Frankl, a survivor of Auschwitz, begins to answer the question of how the inmate adjusted to life in the concentration camp. Frankl argues that the inmates had to find meaning in their suffering as a reason to go on living. Those who lost faith in the future were those most likely to die. Yet Frankl's testimony goes far beyond the issue of survival in camps to the larger question of how humans deal with life itself.

The prisoner who had lost faith in the future—his future—was doomed. With his loss of belief in the future, he also lost his spiritual hold; he let himself decline and became subject to mental and physical decay. Usually this happened quite suddenly, in the form of a crisis, the symptoms of which were familiar to the experienced camp inmate. We all feared this moment—not for ourselves, which would have been pointless, but for our friends. Usually it began with the prisoner refusing one morning to get dressed and wash or to go out on the parade grounds. . . . No blows, no threats had any effect. He just lay there, hardly moving. If this crisis was brought about by an illness, he refused to be taken to the sick-bay or to do anything to help himself. He simply gave up. There he remained, lying in his own excreta, and nothing bothered him any more.

I once had a dramatic demonstration of the close link between the loss of faith in the future and this dangerous giving up. My senior block warden, a fairly well-known composer and librettist, confided in me one day: "I would like to tell you something, Doctor. I have had a strange dream. A voice told me that I could wish for something, that I should only say what I wanted to know, and all my questions would be answered. What do you think I asked? That I would like to know when the war would be over for me. . . . I wanted to know when we, when our camp, would be liberated and our sufferings come to an end."

"And when did you have this dream?" I asked.

"In February, 1945," he answered. It was then the beginning of March.

"What did your dream voice answer?"

Furtively he whispered to me, "March thirtieth."

When F— told me about his dream, he was still full of hope and convinced that the voice of his dream would be right. But as the promised day drew nearer, the war news which reached our camp made it appear very unlikely that we would be free on the promised date. On March twenty-ninth, F— suddenly became ill and ran a high temperature. On March thirtieth, the day his prophecy had told him that the war and suffering would be over for him, he became delirious and lost consciousness. On March thirty-first, he was dead. To all outward appearances, he had died of typhus.

. . . . The ultimate cause of my friend's death was that the expected liberation did not come and he was severely disappointed. This suddenly lowered his body's resistance against the latent typhus infection. His faith in the future and his will to live had become paralyzed and his body fell victim to illness—and thus the voice of his dream was right after all.

Any attempt to restore a man's inner strength in the camp had first to succeed in showing him some future goal. Nietzsche's words, "He who has a *why* to live for can bear with almost any *how*," could be the guiding motto for all . . . . efforts regarding prisoners. Woe to him who saw no more sense in his life, no aim, no purpose, and therefore no point in carrying on. He was soon lost. . . .

What was really needed was a fundamental change in our attitude toward life. We had to learn ourselves and, furthermore, we had to teach the despairing men, that *it did not really matter what we expected from life, but rather what life expected from us* . . . . Sometimes the situation in which a man finds himself may require him to shape his own fate by action. At other times it is more advantageous for him to make use of an opportunity for contemplation and to realize assets in this way. Sometimes man may be required simply to accept fate, to bear his cross. . . .

When a man finds that it is his destiny to suffer, he will have to accept his suffering as his task; his single and unique task. He will have to acknowledge the fact that even in suffering he is unique and alone in the universe. No one can relieve him of his suffering or suffer in his place.

His unique opportunity lies in the way in which he bears his burden.

For us, as prisoners, these thoughts were not speculations far removed from reality. They were the only thoughts that could be of help to us. They kept us from despair, even when there seemed to be no chance of coming out of it alive. There was plenty of suffering for us to get through. Therefore it was necessary to face up to the full amount of suffering, trying to keep moments of weakness and furtive tears to a minimum. But there was no need to be ashamed of tears, for tears bore witness that a man had the greatest of courage, the courage to suffer. Only very few realized that. . . .

A very strict camp ruling forbade any efforts to save a man who attempted suicide. It was forbidden, for example, to cut down a man who was trying to hang himself. Therefore, it was all important to prevent these attempts from occurring.

I remember two cases of would-be suicide, which bore a striking similarity to each other. Both men had talked of their intentions to commit suicide. Both used the typical argument—they had nothing more to expect from life. In both cases it was a question of getting them to realize that life was still expecting something from them; something in the future was expected of them. We found, in fact, that for the one it was his child whom he adored and who was waiting for him in a foreign country. For the other it was a thing, not a person. This man was a scientist and had written a series of books which still needed to be finished. His work could not be done by anyone else, any more than another person could ever take the place of the father in his child's affections.

This uniqueness and singleness which distinguishes each individual and gives a meaning to his existence has a bearing on creative work as much as it does on human love. When the impossibility of replacing a person is realized, it allows the responsibility which a man has for his existence and its continuance to appear in all its magnitude. A man who becomes conscious of the responsibility he bears toward a human being who affectionately waits for him, or to an unfinished work, will never be able to throw away his life. He knows the "why" for his existence, and will be able to bear almost any "how."

Questions for Discussion

1. Why did the senior block warden die on March 31st?
2. What is meant by Nietzsche' statement, "He who has a *why* to live for can bear with almost any *how*."
3. What does Frankl say about crying?
4. How can Frankl's comments about suicide in the camps relate to the issue of increasing suicide today?

Definitions

furtively—slyly
psychohygiene—the relationship betwen individual health and state of mind

The Death Process

Martin Gilbert

The following is the testimony of two Germans during the war. Kurt Gerstein was a young engineer in the SS who brought prussic acid to some of the death camps. He was an eyewitness to what happened in the gas chambers at Belzec. Wilhelm Cornides, a non-commissioned officer, kept a diary as he traveled in the region.

The Belzec camp had a special compound for the SS, above the entrance of which was the sign: "Entrance to the Jewish State." From their compound, under the command of a former Stuttgart police officer, Christian Wirth, the SS men could actually see the entrance to the gas chamber, the doors to which had been draped with synagogue curtains bearing the Hebrew inscription: 'This is the gate of the Lord into which the righteous shall enter.' Gerstein also described the scene as each train was unloaded, and 1,000 people went forward to the gas chamber. As he remembered it:

"For a number of men there still flickers a lingering hope, sufficient to make them march without resistance to the death chambers. The majority know with certainty what is to be their fate. The horrible, all-pervading stench reveals the truth. Then they climb some small steps and behold the reality. Silent mothers hold their babies to their breasts, naked; there are many children of all ages. They hesitate, but nevertheless proceed toward the death chambers, most of them without a word, pushed by those behind, chased by the whips of the SS men.

"A woman of about forty curses the chief of the murderers, crying that the blood of her children will be on his head. Wirth, an SS officer, himself strikes her across the face with five lashes of the whip and she disappears into the gas chamber. Many pray. . . .

"The SS men squeeze people into the chambers. 'Fill them up well,' orders Wirth. The naked people stand on each other's feet. About seven to eight hundred people in an area of about a hundred square metres. The doors close, the rest of the transport stands waiting, naked. . . In the winter, too, they stand waiting, naked. But the diesel engine is not functioning . . fifty minutes pass by; seventy minutes. The people in the death chambers remain standing. Their weeping is heard. SS Sturmbannführer Professor Dr. Pfannenstiel, lecturer in hygiene at Marburg University, remarks: 'Just like in a synagogue.' . . .

"Only after two hours and forty-nine minutes does the diesel finally begin to work. Twenty-five minutes pass by. Many have already died, as can be seen through the small window. Twenty-eight minutes later a few are still alive. After thirty-two minutes all are dead. . . . Jewish workers open the doors on the other side. . . . The dead, having nowhere to fall, stand like pillars of basalt. Even in death, families may be seen standing pressed together, clutching hands. It is only with difficulty that the bodies are separated in order to clear the place for the next load. The blue corpses, covered with sweat and urine . . . babies and bodies of children, are thrown out. But there is no time! A couple of workers are busy with the mouths of the dead, opening them with iron pegs; 'With gold to the left—without gold to the right,' is the order. Others search in the private parts of the bodies for gold and diamonds. . . . Wirth points to a full preserves tin and exclaims, "Lift it up, and see how much gold there is.' "

Gerstein also recalled how, in order not to 'hamper' the smooth flow of people into the gas chamber, old people and invalids were taken away, as if to the hospital, but in fact to open pits, where they were then shot.

Kurt Gerstein had spent time actually inside Belzec. Thousands of other people passed by the camp, which was on the railway line between Lvov and Cholm, and which gave rise to considerable talk among the Germans who worked in the locality. The mass killings were no secret to those who worked in the region. On 30 August 1942 a German non-commissioned officer, Wilhelm Cornides, was in Rzeszow, on his way to Cholm by train. In his diary he recorded that a railway policeman in Rzeszow had told him that "a marble plaque with golden letters will be erected on 1 September, because then the city will be free of Jews." The policeman also told him that trains filled with Jews "pass almost daily through the shunting yards, are dispatched immediately on their way, and return swept clean, most often the same evening". Some 6,000 Jews from Jaroslaw, the policeman added, "were recently killed in one day."

Cornides then took the regular passenger train from Rzeszow to Cholm, reaching Rawa Ruska on 31 August, and recording in his diary, while staying in the "German House" there:

"At ten minutes past noon I saw a transport train run into the station. On the roof and running boards sat guards with rifles. One could see from a distance that the cars were jammed full of people. I turned and walked along the whole train: it consisted of thirty-eight cattle cars and one passenger car.

"In each of the cars there were at least sixty Jews (in the case of enlisted men's or prisoner transports these wagons would hold forty men; however, the benches had been removed and one could see that those who were locked in here had to stand pressed together). Some of the doors were opened a crack, the windows criss-crossed with barbed wire. Among the locked-in people there were a few men and most of those were old; everything else was women, girls and children. Many children crowded at the windows and the narrow door openings. The youngest were surely not more than two years old.

"As soon as the train halted, the Jews attempted to pass out bottles in order to get water. The train, however, was surrounded by SS guards, so that no one could come near. At that moment a train arrived from the direction of Jaroslaw; the travelers streamed toward the exit without bothering about the transport. A few Jews who were busy loading a car for the armed forces waved their caps to the locked-in people.

"I talked to a policeman on duty at the railway station. Upon my question as to where the Jews actually came from, he answered: 'Those are probably the last ones from Lvov. That has been going on now for five weeks uninterruptedly. In Jaroslaw they let remain only eight, no one knows why.' I asked: 'How far are they going?' Then he said: 'To Belzec.' 'And then?' 'Poison.' I asked: 'Gas?' He shrugged his shoulders. Then he said only: 'At the beginning they always shot them, I believe.' "

Questions for Discussion

1. Describe the design of the entrance to the Belzec gas chamber? Why did the Nazis do this?
2. What can we learn from Cornides' diary about the outside world's knowledge of what went on in the death camp?

The Man with the Pink Triangle

Heinz Hagar

The increased drive of homosexuals for equal rights has made us more conscious of their place in historical events. The role of the homosexual during the Third Reich has been subject to much confusion. Although the Nazis had much regard for male comradeship (what some historians call homoeroticism), they were not sympathetic to homosexuality. The Nazis supported Paragraph 195 of the German penal code which made homosexuality a criminal offense. In 1934, some homosexuals, including Ernst Roehm, head of the S.A., were murdered in what became known as "The Night of the Long Knives." Many homosexuals were designated as dangerous to the state and ended up in concentration camps.

Recently, the Broadway play "Bent" dealt with the issue of the homosexual and the Nazis. This controversial play is about a man who preferred to wear a yellow star in the concentration camp rather than the pink triangle that signified homosexual.

The following selection by Heinz Hagar, is the testimony of one homosexual who had been in Flossenburg and Sachsenhausen, both concentration camps.

It was only during the journey that we learned from the SS guards that we were being taken to Flossenbürg. I had already heard tell of that camp from other prisoners in Sachsenhausen. . . .

Flossenbürg lay in the mountainous region of Bavaria, near to the Czech border. . . . The concentration camp was built on a gentle slope, not far from Flossenbürg village. But no matter how scenically beautiful, with a ruined 14th century castle rising picturesquely in the landscape, Flossenbürg is still a place of dreaded memory for tens of thousands of human beings. . . .

Out of over a hundred Sachsenhausen prisoners transferred to Flossenbürg, only five bore the pink triangle: A Czech singer from Prague, age 35; a civil servant from Graz in Austria, age 42; a 24-year-old man from Salzburg, said to have been a senior official in the Hitler Youth; myself, and another Viennese, both aged 22. Just as in Sachsenhausen, we were quartered in a 'queers' block,' but this time only wing A of the block, i.e. one dormitory, was for homosexuals.

This wing alone was occupied by more than 200 men, and here too, as in Sachsenhausen, the light was kept on the whole night, though only in the 'queers' wing' of the block. Once again, we had to keep our hands outside the blanket while we slept. This was presumably a regulation in force for all concentration camps with blocks for homosexuals. Only a year later, when this wing was disbanded and we were scattered in smaller groups throughout the other blocks, was this regulation no longer applied.

We were led to our block by an SS guard, and transferred there to the sergeant in charge. . . .

. . . Flossenbürg was a camp run by the 'greens,' just like Sachsenhausen. The great majority of elders and Capos, in other words, came from the ranks of the criminal prisoners, as naturally enough did the camp senior and head Capo. . . .

We gays were assembled into work detachments of 12 to 15 men, led by an SS work leader, a Capo and a foreman, to work in the granite quarry. This is where the stones were dug and prepared for Hitler's great building projects, for motorway bridges and the like. . . .

The work of quarrying, dynamiting, hewing and dressing was extremely arduous, and only Jews and homosexuals were assigned to it. The quarry claimed very many victims, with the SS and Capos often deliberately contributing to the large number of accidents. . . .

Just like the prison camp itself, the granite quarry was completely surrounded by barbed wire, and guarded outside and inside by SS sentries. No prisoner was permitted to get closer than five metres to the wire. Anyone who did so was shot by the SS guards without warning, since this transgression was already considered as attempted escape. For shooting a prisoner who 'attempted escape,' an SS man received three days' special leave.

It is not hard to imagine, therefore, how keen the SS were to organise 'escapes' of this kind, for the sake of their extra leave. In the relatively short time that I worked in the quarry, I myself witnessed at least ten occasions when SS men seized a prisoner's cap and threw it against the wire. They would then demand that the prisoner fetch his cap back. Naturally enough, the prisoner tried to refuse, as everyone knew this meant certain death. The SS men then started beating the poor devil with sticks, so that he could only choose the way in which he was to die. Either beaten to death by the SS beasts, or be shot by the guards for "attempted escape."

It happened several times, too, that a prisoner would himself run against the wire in despair, to get shot and be freed from pain, hunger and the unbearable toil.

When a prisoner was shot in the quarry, all other prisoners had immediately to lie on the ground and keep their heads down, until the victim, who was not always immediately dead, was taken away on a stretcher. This might take anything up to an hour and a half. Anyone who moved, moreover, got a kick in the head or the kidneys from the patrolling SS guards, so that he nearly lost his senses. Only in summer was this procedure relatively bearable; in rain or on cold days it was more than painful, which was precisely the SS's idea.

One way of tormenting Jews and homosexuals that the SS in the quarry were very fond of was to drive crazy prisoners who were already physically at the end of their tether. A man who had not done anything in particular would have a metal bucket placed over his head. Two men held him down, while the SS men and Capos banged on the bucket with their sticks. The terrible noise amplified through the bucket soon brought the victim to such a pitch of terror that he completely lost his mi[illegible]nd his sense of balance was destroyed. Th[illegible] the bucket was suddenly removed from his head and he was pushed towards the wire fence. He could seldom right himself in time. And if he staggered inside the 5-metre zone, he was fired on in the usual way. 'Games' such as these were a favorite pastime for some of the SS guards.

Questions for Discussion

1. What special rules were applied to homosexuals in the camps?
2. Hypothetically, if you lived in a society in which homosexuals were rounded up into concentration camps, how do you think you would react?
3. In the play "Bent," the major character, Rudi, must make the following decisions:
    (a) Whether to leave Nazi Germany without his weak male lover
    (b) Whether to physically hit his friend when ordered to do so by the Nazis
    (c) Whether to obtain medicine for a sick friend in the concentration camp by sleeping with an SS officer

   What decisions should Rudi have made?

Jehovah's Witnesses

Rudolph Hoess

Another group that was seen as dangerous to the State was the Jehovah's Witnesses. Their refusal to serve in the army or accept any military-related work angered the Nazis. Many were sent to concentration camps.

This selection from the autobiography of Rudolph Hoess, the commandant of Auschwitz, describes his feelings about the Jehovah's Witnesses.

There were many Jehovah's Witnesses in Sachsenhausen. A great number of them refused to undertake military service and because of this the Reichsführer SS condemned them to death. They were shot in the presence of all the inmates of the camp duly assembled. The other Jehovah's Witnesses were placed in the front rank so that they must watch the proceedings.

I have met many religious fanatics in my time. . . . But the Witnesses in Sachsenhausen, and particularly two of them, surpassed anything that I had previously seen. These two especially fanatical Witnesses refused to do any work that had any connection whatever with military matters. They would not stand at attention, or drill in time with the rest, or lay their hands along the seam of their trousers, or remove their caps. They said that such marks of respect were due only to Jehovah and not to man. They recognized only one lord and master, Jehovah. Both of them had to be taken from the block set aside for Jehovah's Witnesses and put in the cells, since they constantly urged on the other Witnesses to behave in a similar manner.

Eicke had frequently sentenced them to be flogged because of their antidisciplinarian behavior. They underwent this punishment with a joyous fervor that amounted almost to a perversion. They begged the commandant to increase their punishment, so that they might the better be able to testify to Jehovah. After they had been ordered to report for military service, . . . they too were condemned to death. . . When told of this in their cells, they went almost mad for joy and ecstasy, and could hardly wait for the day of execution. They wrung their hands, gazed enraptured up at the sky, and constantly cried: "Soon we shall be with Jehovah! How happy we are to have been chosen!" A few days earlier they had witnessed the execution of some of their fellow believers and they could hardly be kept under control, so great was their desire to be shot with them. . . . When their time came, they almost ran to the place of execution. They wished on no account to be bound, for they desired to be able to raise their hands to Jehovah. Transformed by ecstasy, they stood in front of the wooden wall of the rifle range, seemingly no longer of this world. Thus do I imagine that the first Christian martyrs must have appeared as they waited in the circus for the wild beasts to tear them to pieces. Their faces completely transformed, their eyes raised to heaven, and their hands clasped and lifted in prayer, they went to their death.

All who saw them die were deeply moved, and even the execution squad itself was affected. . . .

As people, Jehovah's Witnesses were quiet, industrious, and sociable men and women, who were always ready to help their fellow creatures. Most of them were craftsmen, though many were peasants from East Prussia. In peacetime, so long as they confined their activities to prayer and the service of God and their fraternal gatherings, they were of no danger to the state and indeed quite harmless generally. From 1937 onward, however, the increased proselytizing by the sect attracted the attention of the authorities, and investigations were made. These investigations showed that our enemies were zealously fostering the propagation of the beliefs of Jehovah's Witnesses in order to undermine by religious means the military morale of our people. So proselytizing by Jehovah's Witnesses was forbidden. . . . In the camp the Witnesses were industrious and reliable workers, who could well have been sent out to work without guards. . . . They stubbornly refused to do work that had any connection whatever with the war. The women Witnesses in Ravensbrück, for example, refused to roll bandages for military field dressings. Some of these fanatical women refused to line up for roll call and would only parade as a disorderly crowd. . . .

Questions for Discussion

1. Describe the behavior of the Witnesses in the camps? What is your reaction to their behavior?
2. In his autobiography, Hoess claimed that Witnesses could be released from the camps if they voluntarily "abjured." This meant signing a declaration in which they disassociated themselves from the Witnesses, promised not to try to convert others to the faith, and agreed to obey the laws of the state. Hoess claimed that many Witnesses were willing to do this. Faced with this kind of choice, how do you think you might have responded?

Definition

Proselytize—to make converts.

The Plight of the Gypsies

Bohdan Wytwycky

In *Accounting for Genocide* Dr. Helen Fein writes:

> Although Gypsies have not played a symbiotic role similar to that of the Jews—they cannot be labeled a "middleman minority"—they have been accused of crime and corruption since their entry into Europe, charged with assistance at the Crucifixion, unnatural copulation, cannibalism, necrophiliac activity, and spreading filth and disease. The first response of European states from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century was to expel them: 148 such laws were passed by German states alone between 1416 and 1774. Violence was commonly employed or enforcement and deterrence. As late as the nineteenth century, Gypsy hunts (like fox hunts) occurred in Denmark. Only after drives for expulsion and extermination had failed did states attempt to assimilate them, denying the right of Gypsies to live together, by encouraging settlement and criminalizing the nomads' life. By 1933 police in France, Baden, and Prussia already had files with fingerprinted identification of Gypsies there.

The Nazis held mixed feelings about the Gypsies. Although they were fascinated with the supposed racial purity of Gypsies, the Nazis considered them subhuman parasites and habitual criminals with a foul heredity. The following selection is taken from Bohdan Wytwycky's *The Other Holocaust*. It is a brief history of the early Nazi response to the Gypsies and the eventual decision to place many of them in concentration camps. The major source for Wytwycky's material is drawn from *The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies* by Donald Kenrick and Grattan Puxon, published by Basic Books.

Many Gypsies were sent to Auschwitz where, unlike other inmates, they were allowed to remain together as families. When it became clear that all were to be sent to the gas chambers, some protested that they were German citizens and thus did not deserve the same treatment as others who were not. But once the decision was made, that did not matter to the Nazis.

The persecution of the Gypsy population in Europe predated the Nazi rise to power in 1933. There is nevertheless no comparison between the persecution suffered by the Gypsies before the coming of Hitler and that suffered after. For the Nazis began to single out the Gypsies as a people of *artfremdes Blut* (alien blood), a policy which would culminate in the practice of wholesale extermination. The Nazis added to the general public's vague feelings of mistrust and dislike of the Gypsies the racist view that Gypsies are hereditarily infected beings, of unworthy, primitive, alien blood, necessarily involved in asociability and criminality.

In 1937 the Nazis enacted "The Laws against Crime," under which completely innocent Gypsies were rounded up and sent to Buchenwald. These decrees devoted much attention to a category of persons defined as "asocial." A victim did not have to commit any crime at all to fall within the purview of these statutes; it was enough to be categorized as an asocial. After this law was passed and quite probably as a result of it, the police in each German district received written instructions to arrest a minimum of 200 working-age men and to forward them to Buchenwald. Although both Gypsies and non-Gypsies were arrested, Gypsies were arrested by virtue of being considered asocial by definition.

The first law directed specifically and explicitly against the Gypsies was produced in 1938. The individual provisions of this law were listed under the title "Fight against the Gypsy Menace." the unmistakably racist bent of this law is exposed in its very first statement:

> Experience gained in the fight against the Gypsy menace and the knowledge derived from race-biological research have shown that the proper method of attacking the Gypsy problem seems to be to treat it as a matter of race . . . . (Kenrick & Puxon, p. 73)

The purpose of the law was to find and identify all Gypsies on German and Austrian soil by forcing them to register with the police, who were ordered to keep a precise census. In addition, the police were ordered to report all persons who looked like Gypsies. After registration, the Gypsies were issued passes on which their racial identity was indicated. This law also placed further restriction on Gypsy mobility and was accompanied by orders that every police headquarters establish a unit for dealing with the Gypsy problem.

The next step in the solution of "the Gypsy problem" was a decision made at a meeting in September of 1939, convened by SS chief Reinhard Heydrich, to deport all Gypsies both from Germany proper and from those sections of Poland which had been incorporated into the Reich. A month later, the Nazis proclaimed the

Settlement Edict which forbade all Gypsies to leave their homes or campgrounds. Subsequently, they were rounded up into special camps where they were held pending their deportation to that part of Poland, designated by the Germans as the General Government, which had not been incorporated into the Reich.

The deportation began in May of 1940 and lasted until October. Only some 3,000 of the total 30,000 German Gypsies who were slated for expulsion had been moved during this period. They were taken to various concentration camps, placed in ghettos or simply dumped in the middle of occupied Poland to fend for themselves. . . . The deportation of Gypsies out of Germany was stopped in October 1940 not because there had been a change of goal, but for practical considerations: there was a shortage of transport. Besides, the Governor General of occupied Poland complained that it was impossible to organize and to administer his area while millions of Jews and Poles were being dumped into the Government General.

Germany's Gypsies were thus kept interned, waiting for the resumption of shipments. In addition to daily hardships, family anguish, and dreadful uncertainty, the Gypsies experienced harassment, discrimination and persecution. In late 1939, Gypsies were issued special work cards which severely restricted the type of jobs they could hold, and all other cards and permits were confiscated from them. In early 1942, Gypsies found that in the new labor laws their standing was the same as that of Jews. They lost all rights to sick leave and holidays, and they had to surrender 15 percent of their income as a special tax in addition to whatever other taxes and deductions they had to pay. Special laws pertaining to marriage regulated the Gypsies' personal lives. Gypsy children were frequently dismissed from school because there was an alleged shortage of space, and Gypsy orphans were thrown out of orphanages.

The arrests, confinement and general persecution of Germany's Gypsies were imitated in other lands. There were three major waves of arrests of European Gypsies: one in 1939, one in 1941 and one in 1943. The first to suffer were Gypsies living in Germany and Austria, then those in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the invaded lands of the Soviet Union, Holland, Belgium, Norway and France, and finally the Gypsies of Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria.

It is not known when exactly it was decided that the Gypsies should be exterminated, but it is likely that the initial decision was made by the head of the SS, Heinrich Himmler, sometime in 1942. In September of that year, it was decided at a meeting called by Himmler that "Persons under protective arrest, Jews, Gypsies and Russians . . . would be delivered by the Ministry of Justice to the SS to be worked to death." (Kenrick & Puxon, p. 87). On December 16, 1942, Himmler further decreed that German Gypsies be delivered to Auschwitz. Similar decrees in other lands occupied by the Nazis speedily followed. By the end of 1942, the Nazis had committed themselves to the elimination of Gypsies from Europe.

The standard practice of the Nazis in the occupied countries was to round up the Gypsies, intern them in holding camps, and then finally ship them to Germany or Poland where they would either be used for slave labor or exterminated. In some cases, most notably in collaborationist Vichy France under Marshall Petain, the Gypsies who were rounded up were exploited for their labor for an extended period, then shipped off to death camps in Germany. Kenrick and Puxon estimate that of approximately 30,000 Gypsies sent from France to Buchenwald, Dachau and Ravensbruck, some 16,000 to 18,000 perished.

Whereas most of the Gypsies who were caught and interned in the various occupied lands eventually met their death in the Nazi concentration camps, there were instances of mass slaughter near their homes at the hands of local militias. The single most glaring example took place in Croatia where immediately after the German occupation the local fascist militia, the Ustashi, engaged in a bloodbath directed at Serbs, Gypsies and Jews.

In Serbia there were mass executions of Gypsies and Jews carried out by members of the regular German army. . . . In the end, those Gypsies who escaped the executions and random killings were shipped off to die in the concentration camps. It is estimated that out of a total Croatian Gypsy population of 28,500, only 500 survived the war.

Similarly, few Czech Gypsies managed to live to the end of the war, for the Nazi occupation lasted all the way from 1939 until 1945. A revealing look at the camps is provided by a Czech Gypsy, Barbara Richter, who managed to survive Auschwitz.

> I was kept six weeks at the police station and then sent to Auschwitz (arriving there March 11, 1943). Two Gypsies tried to escape but were caught, beaten and hanged. Later my family was released from Lettig because the Richters were a well-established family in Bohemia. My mother came to Auschwitz voluntarily. Once I was given twenty-five blows with a whip because I had given some bread to a new arrival. One day I saw Elisabeth Koch kill four Gypsy children because they had eaten the remains of some food. Another time we stood for two hours in front of the crematorium but at the last moment were sent back

> to the barracks. I was given lashes a second time for taking bread from a dead prisoner. Three times they took blood from me. Dr. Mengele injected me with malaria. I was then in the sick bay with my uncle. Some Gypsies carried me to another block just before all the patients in the sick bay, including my uncle, were killed. (Kenrick and Puxon, pp. 134-35).

After 1939, the Nazis used occupied Poland as a dumping ground for Gypsies, Jews, and Poles evicted from the German annexations. There the Gypsies were restricted to ghettos, required to wear an identifying white armband, and made to live under conditions that varied from some characterized by relative freedom to others consisting of confinement in concentration camps. They were subject to daily abuse and terror, and faced random roundups and arbitrary executions at any time. . . .

When in the summer of 1941 the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union, the Gypsies of Ukraine, Belorussia, Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia fell prey to the same Nazi practices and policies as their brothers and sisters in other parts of Europe had already suffered. Abuse, persecution and the killing of Gypsies followed on the heels of the invasion. Wherever the conditions were suitable, i.e., where the administrative area was small and the Gypsies were easy to identify and isolate, for example in Estonia, the annihilation of the Gypsy population is estimated to have been complete.

The Nazi invasion of the Soviet Union was organized as a four-pronged attack which fanned out over a broad area ranging from the northeast to the far southeast. In the wake of each of these invading armies followed the notorious Einsatzgruppen. . . . Gypsy men, women and children were among those whom the Einsatzgruppen units sought out and destroyed.

It is generally unknown that a considerable number of Gypsies perished in the infamous Kievan ravine known as Babi Yar. Anatoli reports that entire camps of Gypsies were led to Babi Yar unaware of what lay in store for them. There they joined the many tens of thousands of Jews, Ukrainians and Russians massacred on the same spot.

Gypsies were to be found in virtually every concentration camp operated by the Nazis. Among accounts of the Gypsy presence in these camps there are reports of attempted escapes launched by individuals or small bands. These attempts began right after the first incarceration and continued to the very end. Most ended tragically. One of the earliest such escapes was attempted in 1938, before the outbreak of the war, by a Gypsy who was an inmate at Buchenwald. Recaptured, he met a gruesome fate:

> He was locked in a large box with iron bars over the opening. Inside, the prisoner could only hold himself in a crouching position. Koch (the camp commander) then had big nails driven through the planks so that each movement of the prisoner made them stick in his body. Without food or water, he spent two days and three nights in this position. On the morning of the third day, having already gone insane, he was given an injection of poison. (Kenrick and Puxon, p. 168).

. . . The best documented contingent of Gypsies was the one at Auschwitz, where the Nazis had decided to create a special camp for them. The Gypsies were first brought to Auschwitz in large numbers at the end of 1942. The separate camp for them was established early in 1943 and lasted 16 months. Most of the Gypsies who were brought to Auschwitz, except those to be gassed immediately upon arrival, had their heads shaved and a number tattooed on their arms. They were then submitted to grueling work, disease, and chronic malnutrition.

At Auschwitz the Gypsies were assigned to wear a black triangle designating them as "asocials." Although the establishment of the special Gypsy camp had its advantages, since whole families were able to stay together, the Gypsies were thereby made easily accessible to the notorious Auschwitz medical experimenter, Dr. Mengele, who set up one of his human laboratories in one of the barracks within the Gypsy camp.

Before the final liquidation of the Gypsy camp in 1944, there were two large massacres of Gypsies there in the spring of 1943. In one incident, thousands of Polish Gypsies were gassed a few days after arrival, and in another a big contingent of camp Gypsies were gassed. Even the final liquidation of the Gypsy camp did not take place until all the Gypsies deemed still capable of hard work were deported to work in the stone quarries at the Mauthausen camp. The rest were exterminated at some point in July or possibly August of 1944. From a number of different eyewitness accounts, it is possible to patch together the following picture of the elimination of the Gypsies at Auschwitz.

> We were within easy earshot of the terrible final scenes as German criminal prisoners using clubs and dogs were let loose in the camp against the women, children and old men. A desperate cry from a young Czech-speaking lad suddenly rent the air. "Please Mr. SS man, let me live." Blows with a club were the only answer. Eventually all the inmates were crammed into lorries and driven away to the crematorium. Again they tried to offer resistance, many protesting that they were German.

> Terrible scenes took place. Women and children were on their knees in front of Mengele and Boger crying "Take pity, take pity on us." Nothing helped. They were beaten down brutally, trampled on and pushed on to the trucks. It was a terrible gruesome night. Some persons lay lifeless after being beaten and were also thrown on to the lorries. Lorries came to the orphans' block about 10:30 and to the isolation block at about 11:00 p.m. The SS and four prisoners lifted all the sick people out and also 25 healthy women who had been isolated with their children.
>
> At 23:00 lorries stopped at the hospital. 50 to 60 people were put into one lorry and thus the sick were brought to the gas chambers.
>
> Until far in the night I heard cries and knew they were resisting. The Gypsies screamed all night . . . They sold their lives dearly.
>
> Afterwards Boger and others went through the blocks and pulled out children who had hidden themselves. The children were brought to Boger who took them by the feet and smashed them against the wall . . . I saw this happen five, six or seven times.
>
> We heard outside cries like "Criminal, Murderer." The whole thing lasted some hours. Then an SS officer came whom I didn't know and dictated to me a letter. The contents were "Special Treatment carried out." He took the letter out of the machine and tore it up. In the morning there were no more Gypsies in the camp. (Kenrick and Puxon, pp. 163-164).

Gypsies who were brought to Auschwitz after the liquidation of the Gypsy camp were gassed upon arrival. Thus, for example, the Gypsies in a shipment of 200 from Buchenwald and some 800 children in another shipment from Buchenwald were taken directly to the gas chambers. When Auschwitz was finally evacuated just before the end of the war, only a handful of Gypsies, scattered around the Auschwitz complex, were still alive.

Estimates of the total number of Gypsy casualties resulting from the Nazi holocaust vary considerably. In part, this is due to an absence of accurate and comprehensive statistics on the size of the pre-war European Gypsy population. The most conservative calculation is that of Kenrick and Puxon (pp. 183-4) who suggest, with a warning that this figure may prove to be much higher when further documentation becomes available, that some quarter of a million Gypsies perished. [Some estimate] that the real number is as high as 500,000 or 600,000 and the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* estimate is 400,000.

Questions for Discussion

1. According to Wytwycky, why did the Gypsies become one of the targets of Nazism? What is meant by asocial?
2. Critics believe that the Gypsy is still the target of prejudice in Europe and that Gypsies have not yet recovered from their war experience. They argue that Gypsies should be entitled to some form of compensation, and that Europeans must still reevaluate their treatment of Gypsies. What do you think?

Definitions

asocial—indifferent to the interests of society.
collaborationist—one who cooperates with the enemy.
intern—to detain and confine within a definite area.

The Children

Over one million Jewish children died in the Holocaust. This poem by Nelly Sachs and accompanying drawing by David Ludwig Bloch reflect the torment of the children, the most helpless of victims. Bloch was an artist in Germany who was ousted from an art academy and sent to a concentration camp. Miraculously, he was released and escaped to Shanghai. Sachs fled to Sweden in 1940. All she had left was her language and her rootedness in Jewish tradition. In 1966 she won the Nobel Prize for Literature. This selection is taken from *O The Chimneys*.

O the Night of the Weeping Children!

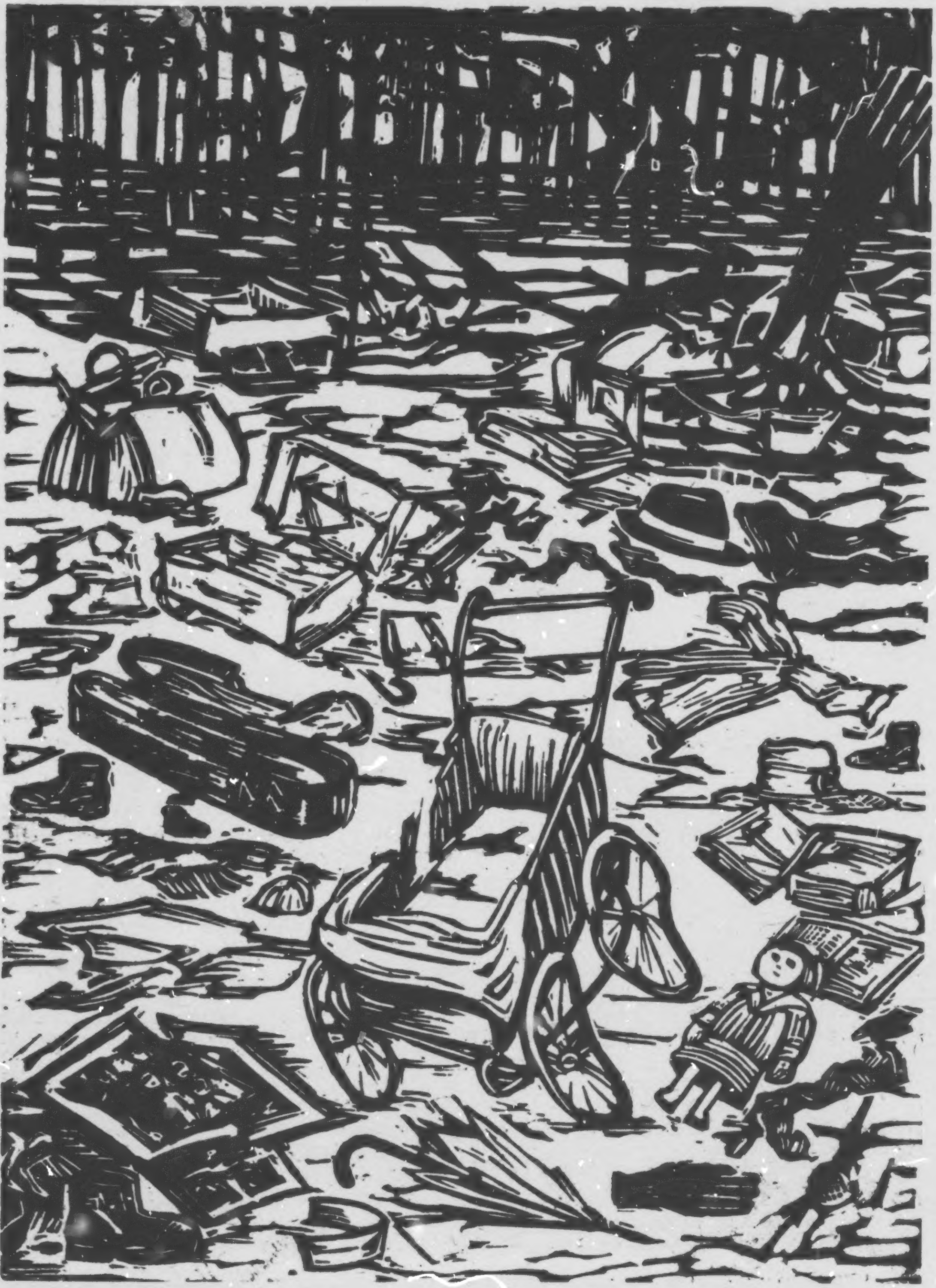
Nelly Sachs

O the night of the weeping children!
O the night of the children branded for death!
Sleep may not enter here.
Terrible nursemaids
Have usurped the place of mothers,
Have tautened their tendons with the false death,
Sow it on to the walls and into the beams—
Everywhere it is hatched in the nests of horror.
Instead of mother's milk, panic suckles those
little ones.

Yesterday Mother still drew
Sleep toward them like a white moon.
There was the doll with cheeks derouged by
kisses
In one arm,
The stuffed pet, already
Brought to life by love,
In the other—
Now blows the wind of dying,
Blows the shifts over the hair
That no one will comb again.

Questions for Discussion

1. Who are the new "nursemaids"? Why is this an ironic term to use?
2. What does the artist show you in "The Family"? What does it symbolize?
3. How do you think the experience of Holocaust affected children?
4. Fyodor Dostoevsky, in *The Brothers Karamazov*, asks us to think about God in the face of one tortured child. How do you explain this?



David Ludwig Bloch, "My Family."

Nazi Medical Experiments

Although "euthanasia" was one way for the Nazis to eliminate those whom they believed were unfit to live in their society, the horrors were not restricted to this method alone. The SS doctors also conducted "medical experiments" upon prisoners in the concentration camps, many of which resulted in physical torture and death. Olga Lengyel provides an eyewitness account of the nature of such experiments. (A word of caution: the Lengyel account is painfully explicit.) The second reading from Time Magazine provides insights about the mentality of those who served as Nazi doctors.

An Eyewitness Account

Olga Lengyel

While I was working at the hospitals in Camp F. K. L. and Camp E., I had to take care of many human guinea pigs, the victims of the "scientific" experiments carried out at Auschwitz-Birkenau. The German doctors had hundreds and thousands of slaves at their disposal. Since they were free to do whatever they wished, they decided to experiment with these people. . . . Human beings were sacrificed by the hundreds of thousands, . . . Everyone has heard of heartless children who amuse themselves by tearing off the legs and wings of insects. Here there was one difference: the insects were human beings.

One of the most common experiments, and also one of the most useless, was the inoculation of a group of inmates with a disease germ. . . . The German doctors usually lost their interest in the project.

Often, the experiments were absolutely absurd. A German doctor conceived the idea of studying how long a human being could exist on nothing but salt water. Another submerged his human guinea pigs in ice water and claimed he could observe the effect of the bath on internal temperatures. After undergoing such experiments, the inmates needed no hospital, but were ready for the gas chamber. One day several nurses entered the infirmary and asked, "Who cannot sleep?" About twenty inmates accepted a dose of an unknown white powder, which might have had a morphine base. The next day ten were dead.

When the Germans sought new treatments for the wounds caused by American phosphorous bombs, they burned fifty Russians on the back with phosphorous. These "controls" received no medication. The men who survived were exterminated.

One of the favorite experiments was conducted on newly arrived women whose menstruation was still normal. During their periods, they were told roughly, "You will be shot in two days." The Germans wanted to know what effect such news would have on the menstrual flow. . . .

Dr. Mengele, the chief physician, had two favorite studies: twins and dwarfs. From the first selections, the twins of each convoy were set apart, if possible with their mothers. . . . No matter what their age or sex, twins interested Mengele deeply. They were favored and even allowed to keep their clothing and their hair. . . .

Upon arrival, twins were photographed from every possible angle. Then the experiments began, . . . For example, one twin would be inoculated with certain chemical substances, and the doctor was to watch for the reaction, . . .

Dwarfs were Dr. Mengele's greatest passion. He collected them zealously. The day he discovered a family of five dwarfs in a transport he was beside himself with joy. . . . His experiments and observations were carried out in an abnormal fashion. When he made transfusions, he purposely used incorrect blood types. Of course complications followed. . . .

One experimental station which was installed some distance from the camp appeared to have a more scientific character. But only at first glance. . . . The experiments were theoretically intended to gather information for the Wehrmacht. Most of the time, they consisted of tests of human endurance, resistance to cold or to heat, or to high altitudes. Hundreds of internees died in the course of these experiments in the Auschwitz station. . . . Musulmans, especially the most emaciated specimens, were forced to drink unbelievable quantities of soup. These cramming experiments were often fatal. I heard of a few cases where the deportees, suffering horribly from hunger, volunteered for this forced feeding. . . .

The German Bayer Company sent medicines in vials with no labels to indicate their contents. People suffering from tuberculosis were injected with this product. They were not sent to the gas chamber. Their overseers waited for them to die, and death came quickly. After that, parts of the lungs were taken to a laboratory chosen by Bayer.

Once the Bayer Company bought one hundred and fifty women from the camp administration and experimented on them with unknown medicaments, perhaps for hormone tests.

The Weigel Institute of Cracow sent vaccines to the camp. These, too, had to be experimented on and "improved." The victims were chosen from French political prisoners, especially members of the French underground which the Germans wanted to be rid of. . . .

One day a large number of women, mostly Polish, were used for vivisection experiments: grafting of the bones and muscles, and various others. . . . The vivisections were carried out under terrible conditions. The victim was bound to the operating table in a primitive barrack, and the operation was made *without aseptic care*. Even after the operations, the human guinea pigs suffered terribly. . . .

To enrich their racial science, the Germans regularly extracted blood. Apart from the scientific interest, the blood of the internees was used for transfusions to German wounded. Five hundred cc. of blood were taken from each "voluntary" donor and sent immediately to the army. To save the lives of the Wehrmacht soldiers, the Germans forgot that Jewish blood was "of inferior quality."

I have already mentioned the "injections in the heart," as the inmates called the intracardiac injections of phenol. Sometimes, these intracardiac injections were made with benzine or petroleum. This method was used in the hospitals to kill the sick or the feeble and the "superfluous." . . .

In another mad experiment they laid hundreds of sick out in the blazing sun. The Germans wanted to know how long it would take a sick person to die under the sun without water.

Twenty miles from our camp was an experimental station which specialized in artificial insemination. To this station were sent the most endowed of the doctor inmates and the most beautiful of the women. The Germans attached great importance to these experiments. . . .

Another group was injected with sex hormones. . . . After these injections, many women had abscesses . . .

I am well informed on the sterilization experiments.

These experiments attempted to compare the results of the surgical methods and X-ray treatments. At the hospital, we saw numerous sick women who had come from this experimental station. They showed serious burns caused by the clumsy application of these rays. . . . The subject was placed under X-ray radiation, which was made more and more intense. From time to time the treatment was interrupted in order to see if the subject could still copulate. When the physician verified that the X-rays had definitely destroyed the genital facilities, this subject was dispatched to the gas chamber.

In August, 1944, the Germans sterilized about one thousand boys between the ages of thirteen and sixteen. Their names and the dates of sterilization were registered. . . .

Then the Germans forced them to masturbate. They provoked the erection by massaging the prostate glands. . . .

The sperm was examined by a bacteriologist who determined the vitality of the spermatozoa. In 1944, the Germans sent a phosphorescent microscope to the camp. This enabled them to see the difference between the living and the dead spermatozoa.

Sometimes the Germans made incomplete castrations: a quarter or a half of the testicle was removed. Sometimes the whole testicle was sent to Breslau in a tube . . . for an histopathological study of the tissues. . . .

I remember one case of a Polish boy named Gruenwald, who was about twenty years old. Professor Klauber ordered treatment with X-rays. After two months the X-rays had not produced the desired effect. So the boy was taken to Barrack 21 for a complete castration. But the X-rays had been given in such doses that he had been seriously burned. Cancer followed and the boy suffered terribly. In January, 1945, he was still alive in the hospital at Birkenau.

These methods were also applied to the women. Sometimes the Germans used short-wave rays which caused unbearable pains in the lower part of the abdomen. Then the belly of the sick woman was *opened* to observe the lesions. The surgeons usually removed the uterus and the ovaries. . . .

A group of young women, mostly Dutch, were subjected to a series of experiments for which only Clauberg, German gynecologist of Kattowitz, could have known the reason. With the aid of an electrical apparatus, a thick whitish liquid was infused into the genital organs of these women. It caused a terrible burning sensation. . . .

These same women were simultaneously subjected to another series of experiments by another doctor. This time it was an injection in the chest. The physician injected five cc. of a serum . . . at the rate of from two to nine injections each session. The reaction came in the form of a painful swelling the size of a fist. Certain women received more than a hundred of these inoculations. Some were also injected in the gums. . . .

When I think of these experiments, I cannot help but recall the drama of the little French woman, Georgette, who died at the hospital on Christmas day, 1944. She had been used as a guinea pig in sterilization experiments, and when she returned to the hospital she was no longer a female.

Georgette had a Polish fianceé, who was to visit her on that day. But she was resolved never to see him again. Rather than admit her degradation, she chose to pass for dead.

The lover came, but Georgette hid under the blanket on the third tier of the koia . . . Because the sick woman desired it, we had told him the day before that she now was dead. But he had not come to see Georgette. He went to the bed of another young girl . . . to whom he had brought his gifts. From under her cover, Georgette saw everything. With her last remaining strength she raised herself and threw herself from the top of the koia. The fall was fatal.

Doctors of the Death Camps

Time Magazine

Of all the troubling questions that linger from the Holocaust, one is as baffling today as it was when the first Allied soldiers stumbled upon the Nazi death camps: How could German physicians, heirs to Europe's proudest medical tradition, participate in mass slaughter and grisly human experiments? . . .

For Yale Psychiatrist Robert Jay Lifton [who] has spent much of his professional life examining disaster, understanding the doctors of the Holocaust has now become a particularly grim challenge. . . .

Says Lifton: "Doctors were key agents in the Holocaust. They are enormously implicated in the killing." . . .

Even a generation later, Lifton found, many of the German doctors resorted to complicated mental gymnastics in discussing their Hitler days. . . . Some saw themselves as idealistic Nazis who worked to restrain primitive elements within the movement. Others continued to feel the magnetism of Nazism. As Lifton explains, in an almost defensively clinical tone: "Often the former Nazi doctors seem to have two separate and functional selves—a conventional conservative postwar German attitude toward Nazism and its 'excesses' and a nostalgia for the excitement, power and sense of purpose of the Nazi days. For many, that intensity is so great that the Nazi belief system has not been given up." . . .

What made the corruption of physicians so crucial to Hitler was that their support provided moral and scientific legitimacy for his crazed racial and biological notions. . . .

After all, it was doctors who supervised the "selections" at the concentration camps—deciding who would live to work, who would die in the gas chambers, who would become guinea pigs in barbarous experiments justified as science.

Says Lifton: "Doctors were the embodiment of Nazi political and racial ideology in its ultimate murderous form. The killing came to be projected as a medical operation." Incredibly, some came to see genocide as a health measure. Said one: "If you have a gangrenous growth, you have to remove it." Another commented coldly that life at Auschwitz was as routine as "building a sewage project." Against the background of a eugenics movement that gained unfortunate respectability in some scientific circles in Europe and America during the '30s, . . . "many doctors came to see themselves as vast revolutionary biological therapists." The third ranking doctor in the Nazi hierarchy admitted to him that he joined the party when someone fired his imagination by arguing that "Nazism is applied biology."

How did so many doctors manage to preside over killings while viewing themselves as idealists? And how could they possibly continue to regard themselves in so favorable a light even today? Lifton concludes that they invoked two standard psychological forms of self-delusion: the first is "psychic numbing": at Auschwitz, for example, doctors talked compulsively about technical matters to avoid confronting the reality of all the horrors around them. The second is "middle knowledge," a form of knowing and not knowing at the very same time. One doctor who had shipped large allocations of cyanide to the SS storm troopers who ran the camps seemed genuinely shocked to learn that it had been used to exterminate Jews and other people. Comments Lifton dryly, "He had worked very hard not to know." . . .

In Lifton's eyes, those who look upon the Nazis or their medical henchmen simply as maddened sadists are on the wrong track. "Most killing is not done out of sadism, not even most Nazi killing," says Lifton. The reality of medical participation in the Holocaust, . . . is even more chilling: "The murders are done around a perverted vision of life enhancement."

Questions for Discussion

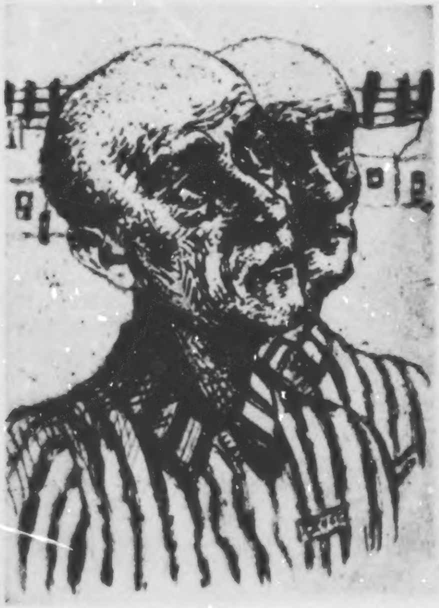
1. What kinds of "medical experiments" were done? What reasons were given for the various "scientific experiments"? How do you react to these reasons?
2. Government-sponsored medical experiments on human beings are not limited to the Nazi era. In the United States, prisoners have been used to conduct medical experiments on new drugs. Army

personnel also have been involved in such experiments. In the latter case, some people were not told of the nature of the experiments or the hazards involved. Are government-sponsored medical experiments justified? How do you react to drug companies using convicts as guinea pigs?

3. Robert J. Lifton writes that "Doctors were key agents in the Holocaust." What does Lifton mean by "middle knowledge"? After the war, how did these doctors justify what they had done? Does it surprise you that members of the medical community could become part of the death process?
4. As to capital punishment in the United States, suggestions have been offered on how to improve the execution process. One recent suggestion involved using doctors to administer fatal injections to the condemned. What do you think of this idea?
5. Do you think it was possible for doctors to refuse to perform certain kinds of actions in the camps? Adelaide Hautual, a doctor and a survivor of Auschwitz, has testified that she had refused, and has said that it was possible for others to also refuse, especially among the SS doctors. Comment.
6. Have you ever tried, as Lifton said, *not* to know something? Why?

Art of the Camp Inmates

It should not be surprising that the highest expression of human beings, their ability to create, is not deterred even by the most harsh of circumstances. Despite the worst of materials, some concentration camp artists produced creative work which served as both consciously-drawn history of what was happening but also as an expression of the spirit that remained unblunted by even these conditions. Thus, this art is often considered an example of spiritual resistance. The following are but a few examples of the art of camp inmates—both during and after their Holocaust experiences.



David Friedman, "Two Prisoners in K2," original etching.

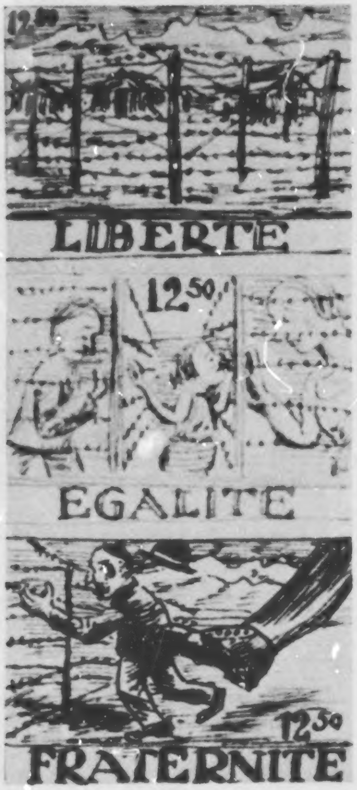
Born in what is now Czechoslovakia in 1893, David Friedman became a sign painter and then a professional artist. He survived Auschwitz because the Nazis had him paint their portraits. After the war, he lived in Israel and then the United States where he painted billboards and created hundreds of drawings, paintings, and etchings on his Holocaust experiences.

Felix Nussbaum was born into a comfortable middle-class family in 1904, studied painting in Germany, and migrated in 1933. During the Nazi invasion of Belgium, he was arrested in Brussels and deported. He was sent to Gurs, a transit camp in the foothills of the Pyrenees (in France) in which 15,000 internees were held in 1940. He escaped, but was recaptured and sent to Auschwitz where he is believed to have died.

David Ludwig Bloch was born in Germany in 1910, studied art, was expelled from the Academic Art Institute in 1938, and was sent to Dachau. Released in 1940, he fled to Shanghai. The two works shown here, "The March," and "The Righteous," were made after the war.

Karl Schwesig was an outspoken non-Jewish anti-Nazi who drew posters during the Spanish civil war, moved to the Pyrenees in 1938, and was later arrested and interned in Gurs. The drawing presented here, "Liberte, Egalite, Fraternite," was drawn in the margins of stamps sent from Gurs. It is a wry comment on the contradiction between the famous French motto and the real policy of the French government in collaborating with the Nazis in rounding up Jews.

Karl Schwesig, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity." Mock postage stamps from Gurs, March, 1941. Indian and colored inks on perforated stamp margins. 1½" × 1".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LIBERTE
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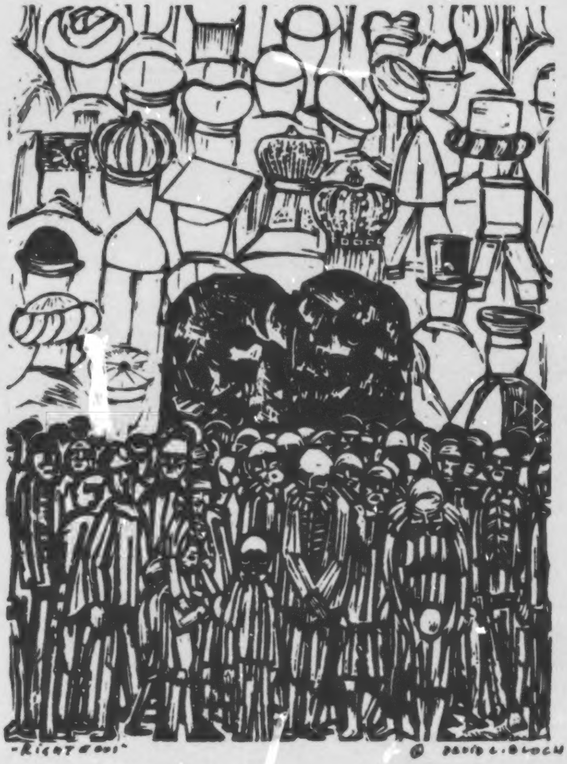
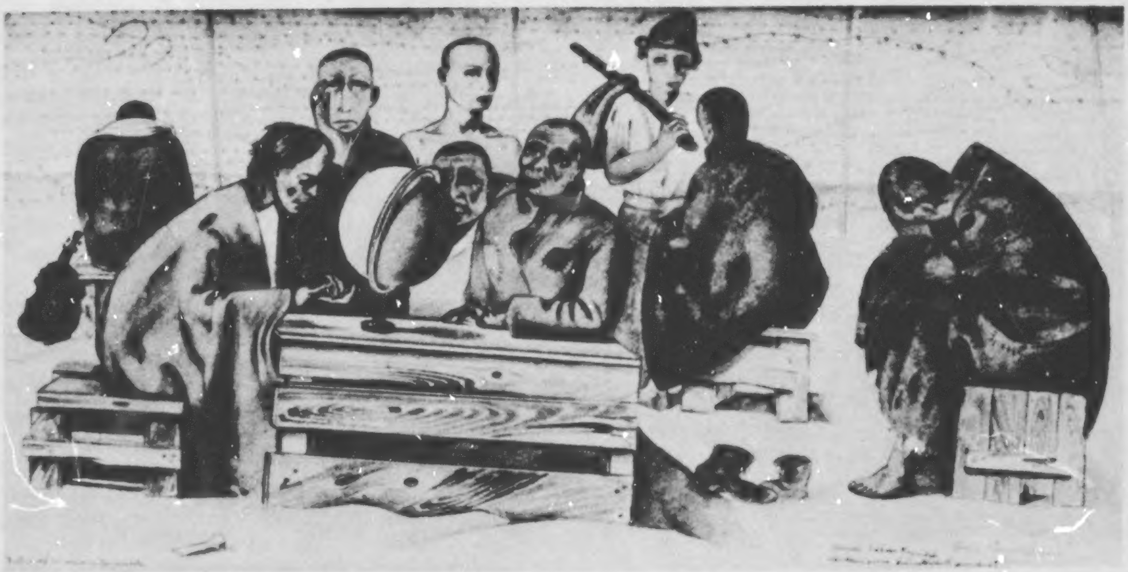
FRATERNITE

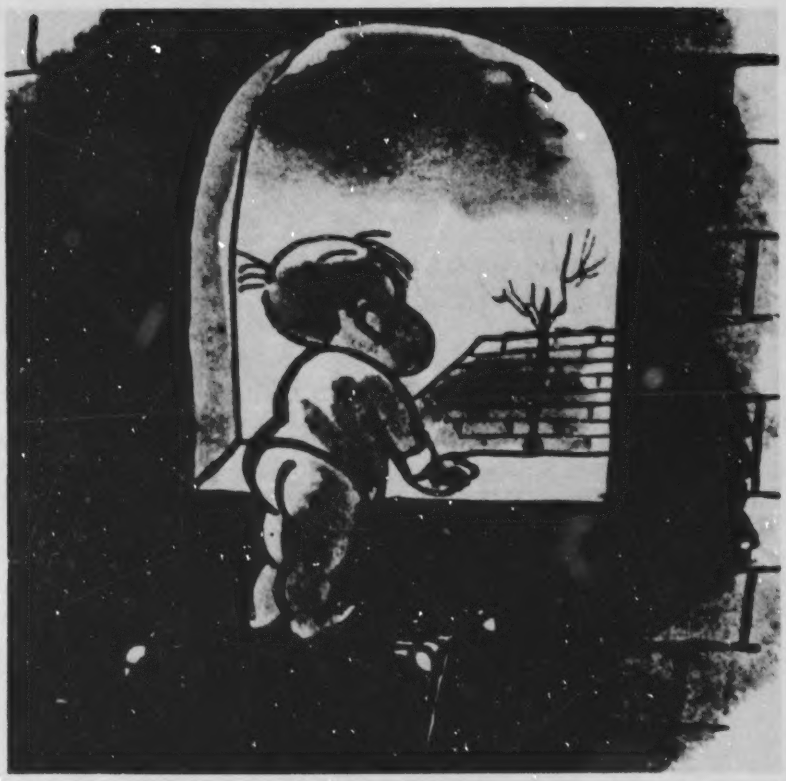
David Ludwig Bloch, "The Righteous."

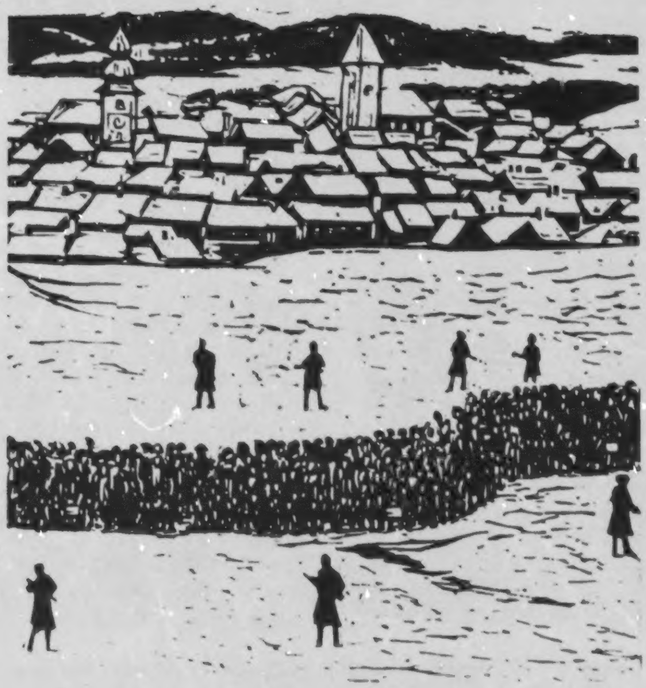

"RIGHTEOUS"
© DAVID L. BLOCH



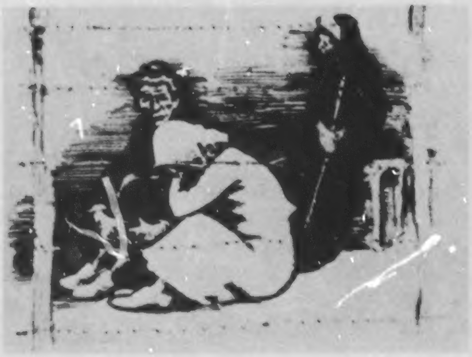
Felix Nussbaum, "Camp Gurs," 1940.

Bedrich Fritta, "To Tommy on his third birthday in Theresienstadt—January 22, 1944." One of ten drawings the artist made for his son's birthday while they were both in Theresienstadt. Three years later Fritta was transferred to Auschwitz where he died. Tommy was later adopted by artist-survivor Leo Haas. (See p. 99.)





David Ludwig Bloch, "The March."



Max Lingner, "Three Women Behind Barbed Wire Fence," Gurs, 1941.

Bedrich Fritta was a Czech painter and graphic artist born in 1907. He went to Theresienstadt in December, 1941. Three years later he was arrested with other artists and eventually deported to Auschwitz where he died.

Finally, Max Lingner was born in Leipzig in 1889. A soldier in World War I, he was severely wounded. He later participated in the German Revolution of November 1918. As a dedicated socialist, Lingner was arrested in 1939 and spent five years in various internment camps and eventually Gurs. Many of his Gurs paintings carry optimistic messages at the bottom.

Questions for Discussion

1. What feelings does Nussbaum try to convey in his drawing? What common objects can you see portrayed?
2. Look closely at Bloch's "The Righteous." What is the artist saying? How do you think camp inmates dealt with these feelings in the camps?
3. What is the irony expressed in Schwesig's mock postage stamps? Consider the difference between what we sometimes say and what we do. Why would anyone in a camp try to convey a message in the form of a postage stamp?
4. There has been a good deal of recent debate about whether recently published Holocaust art books really express the meaning of that experience to the contemporary viewer. How do you react to this criticism? What is it about a work of art that makes it "powerful"? Which of these do you think is the most powerful? The most poignant? The angriest? The most moving? How do you respond to them as works of art?
5. How do you react to Fritta's birthday card to his son, Tommy?

I. G. Farben

Richard L. Rubenstein

I.G. Farben was a major German corporation. The company not only continued to prosper during the Nazi period but also directly profited from Nazi policy. I.G. Farben made a business decision to use slave labor by building plants near the death camp of Auschwitz. I.G. Buna and I.G. Monowitz were built in 1940 as Farben investments. Both installations paid off handsomely in profits.

In this selection from *The Cunning of History,* Richard L. Rubenstein discusses I.G. Farben's wartime history. He also raises painful issues concerning the responsibility of a corporation that makes money from murder and the lenience with which we treated such policy after the Holocaust was over.

Some of Germany's largest and most advanced corporations, such as I. G. Farben, seized the opportunity to utilize the camp prisoners as a labor force. In 1933 I. G. Farben was not an anti-Semitic corporation. It employed many Jews. Jews had helped to build the huge corporate empire. . . . However, as the process of eliminating Jews from German life intensified in the thirties, I. G. Farben naturally got rid of its Jewish officials. . . .

By 1939 I. G. Farben was fully integrated into the new German order. During the war, it was faced with a severe labor shortage at a time when Germany's military and civilian needs for *Buna,* synthetic rubber, were expanding rapidly. It was decided to build a new plant for the manufacture of synthetic rubber. I. G. Farben officials met with officials of the Economy Ministry to decide on the location of the new factory. After several meetings, the corporation executives were convinced . . . of the advantages of constructing several plants at Auschwitz. The Auschwitz site had good supplies of water, coal, and other needed ingredients. The problem of an assured labor supply was solved by Himmler who promised that all available skilled workers at Auschwitz would be placed at the giant corporation's disposal. . . . In February 1941, Auschwitz appeared to be an excellent corporate investment to some of Germany's most respectable business leaders. Their mentality was not very different from that of corporate executives who close down plants in such high labor cost areas as Stuttgart and Philadelphia and relocate them in Manila and Singapore. This should occasion neither surprise nor shock. I. G. Farben was one of the first great corporate conglomerates. Its executives merely carried the logic of corporate rationality to its ultimate conclusion. . . . the perfect labor force for a corporation that seeks fully to minimize costs and maximize profits is slave labor in a death camp . . . I. G. Farben's investment in I. G. Auschwitz ultimately reached $1,000,000,000 in today's money. The construction work required 170 contractors. . . . When the factories commenced operations, the SS provided guards to supervise the workers. . . .

The diet of the inmates was the same starvation diet of watery turnip soup given to all Auschwitz inmates, save that the corporation added a ration of extra "*Buna* soup," not out of consideration for the workers' well-being but to maintain a precisely calculated level of productivity. . . .

Given the almost inexhaustible supply of labor, the company adopted a deliberate policy of working the slaves to death. Nor was the policy hidden from the top echelons of I. G. Farben's managerial elite. They were very much involved in the operation and made frequent trips to Auschwitz to see how things were going. . . . [On] one occasion, five of I. G. Farben's top directors made an inspection tour of I. G. Auschwitz. As one of the directors passed a slave scientist, Dr. Fritz Lohner-Beda, the Director remarked, "The Jewish swine could work a little faster." Another I. G. Farben director responded, "If they don't work, let them perish in the gas chamber." Dr. Lohner-Beda was then pulled out of his group and kicked to death.

One of the five directors present on that occasion was Dr. Fritz Ter Meer, I. G. Farben's executive in charge of synthetic rubber and petrochemical operations including I. G. Auschwitz. . . . Dr. Ter Meer visited the United States on a number of occasions before America's entry into World War II. He had excellent relations with his American corporate counterparts, especially Mr. Frank Howard, chief executive officer of Standard Oil of New Jersey, as well as other top Standard Oil executives. (Jersey Standard has been incorporated into the Exxon corporation). . . .

Dr. Ter Meer was equally at home as the executive officer responsible for I. G. Auschwitz. . . . Nor did Dr. Ter Meer express any regret about I. G. Auschwitz after the war. When queried by a British officer . . . whether he regretted the experiments conducted upon concentration camp victims by I. G. Farben's pharmaceutical subsidiaries, such as Bayer, Dr. Ter Meer is reported to have replied that "no harm had been done to these KZ (concentration camp) inmates as they would have been killed anyway."

My point in stressing Dr. Ter Meer's American corporate connections is not to suggest that corporate executives are possessed of some distinctive quality of villainy. It is to emphasize the extent to which the same attitude of impersonal rationality is required to run successfully a large corporation, a death camp slave labor factory and an extermination center. . . . At least in Germany, the top executives of all three enterprises often felt at home with each other. . . .

About 35,000 slaves were used at I. G. Auschwitz. Over 25,000 died. The life expectancy of the average slave in the factory was estimated at between three and four months. Coal was a necessary ingredient in the manufacture of Buna. In the nearby coal mines of I. G. Auschwitz, the life expectancy of the average slave was about one month. Only one incentive was necessary to keep the slaves working at maximum capacity, terror. . . . If the slaves did not keep up with the schedule, they were gassed; if they did keep up with it, the work itself killed them within a few months. . . . One wonders what refinements might have been added, had the SS possessed computers. . . . I. G. Farben also derived handsome profits from the manufacture by its subsidiaries of Zykion B, the gas used in Auschwitz's chambers.

Zyklon B was the commercial name for a gas used to exterminate rodents and vermin. It had been developed by . . . DEGESH (German Vermin Combating Corporation). . . . In March 1944 the Dessau plant was damaged in an air raid. At the time Auschwitz was the only remaining murder center in operation, and the SS was trying to finish off 750,000 Hungarian Jews before it was too late. Because of the bombing, it was impossible to produce Zyklon B with its characteristic odor. The SS was less concerned with the odor than with the effect of the gas. One of its officials requested that five tons of Zyklon B be delivered without the odor-producing element. This troubled a DEGESH official who expressed concern that, without the telltale odor, the company might somehow be in danger of losing its monopoly! There was no concern that the gas was being used to kill millions of men and women; there was concern that the company's monopoly in the production of the lethal substance might be compromised. . . .

To repeat, the business of mass murder was both a highly complex and successful corporate venture. The men who carried out the business part of the venture were not uniformed thugs or hoodlums. They were highly competent, respectable corporate executives who were only doing what they had been trained to do—run large corporations successfully. As long as their institutions functioned efficiently, they had no qualms whatsoever concerning the uses to which they were put. . . .

Thousands participated in the society of total domination and the murder process. The vast majority of those *directly* involved were never punished. Most of those still alive hold positions of responsibility and influence in both Germanies. . . These men did "solve" Germany's Jewish problem. This fact was clearly understood by German society which rewarded them and found places of responsibility for them after the war.

Every so often some SS guard who was a participant in one of the mobile killing units that cold-bloodedly shot to death tens of thousands of Jews or who performed some particularly vile task in one of the camps is identified in West Germany and brought to trial. . . A few may receive token sentences, such as three or four years for killing ten thousand people, with time off for the period already spent in jail before sentencing. However, as we have seen, almost all of those involved in the corporate enterprises at Auschwitz were speedily restored to places of leadership in the West German business elite. The tendency towards greater leniency for the business executives reflects an almost universal bias in advanced technological societies. "White-collar crimes," such as large scale embezzlement and corporate fraud, may result in the actual loss of far greater sums of money than the average bank robber or petty thief, yet the "white-collar criminal" is almost always the recipient of greater leniency in the courts.

If there were in reality any *credible* moral standard binding on all human beings. . . . it would be possible to inquire whether the SS guards who received heavier sentences, as they sometimes did, were not unfairly treated in comparison with the business executives. Is there not the suspicion that it is easier to sentence an SS guard than a corporate manager, although the "clean" violence of the latter did the greater damage?

Questions for Discussion

1. What is your reaction to I.G. Farben's early policy toward Jewish employees during the Third Reich? What should they have done?
2. Why was Auschwitz selected as a site for investment?
3. What was Fritz Ter Meer's excuse for using slave labor in the I.G. Farben plants? What is your view of this argument?
4. Who do you think would be more responsible for what happened during the Holocaust: an SS camp guard or an I.G. Farben executive?
5. Do corporations have any ethical responsibilities? How harshly should "white collar" participants like I.G. Farben be judged?
6. Should ethical responsibilities ever take precedence over business responsibilities?
7. Why does Rubenstein mention Ter Meer's "American corporate connections?" Discuss.
8. Who was responsible for the production of Zyklon B?

Definitions

Buna—synthetic rubber factory at Auschwitz
KZ—concentration camps
IG—*Interessen Gemeinschaft*—Community of Interests. Used in relation to cartels and monopolies.

Religious Faith in the Holocaust

Students interested in the Holocaust naturally ask what happened to people's belief in God as they endured such brutal suffering. Certainly, there were some who lost their faith in God. They wondered, as did Elie Wiesel in *Night*, where God was during the Holocaust. That question continues to haunt us today.

But it is true that views among the victims about God's role in the Holocaust vary greatly. Just as there were some who lost their faith, there were many who deepened their religious fervor even while going to their deaths. The hymn "Ani Maamin" was sung by millions who experienced the Holocaust. The hymn states, "I believe with perfect faith in the coming of the Messiah. And even though he tarry, still will I believe." As Eliezer Berkovits makes clear in *With God in Hell*, concentration camp prisoners continued to pray and even debate the preservation of certain religious rituals even while suffering from camp conditions. The issue of whether to fast on Yom Kippur, the Jewish Day of Atonement, was hotly debated. For some, to fast on such a day was a continuation of faith and thus a high act of resistance.

The following selections from Elie Wiesel's *Night* and Yitzhak Katzenelson's poem "The Song of the Murdered Jewish People" are united in their common questioning of the role of God. Katzenelson's great epic was written before the poet was deported and killed in Auschwitz in January, 1944. It can be contrasted with the simple, tranquil message of "Ani Maamin."

Why Should I Bless Him?

Elie Wiesel

The summer was coming to an end. The Jewish year was nearly over.

On the eve of Rosh Hashanah, the last day of that accursed year, the whole camp was electric with the tension which was in all our hearts. In spite of everything, this day was different from any other. The last day of the year. The word "last" rang very strangely. What if it were indeed the last day?

They gave us our evening meal, a very thick soup, but no one touched it. We wanted to wait until after prayers. At the place of assembly, surrounded by the electrified barbed wire, thousands of silent Jews gathered, their faces stricken.

Night was falling. Other prisoners continued to crowd in, from every block, able suddenly to conquer time and space and submit both to their will.

"What are You, my God," I thought angrily, "compared to this afflicted crowd, proclaiming to You their faith, their anger, their revolt? What does Your greatness mean, Lord of the Universe, in the face of all this weakness, this decomposition, and this decay? Why do You still trouble their sick minds, their crippled bodies?

Ten thousand men had come to attend the solemn service, heads of the blocks, Kapos, functionaries of death.

"Bless the Eternal. . . ."

The voice of the officiant had just made itself heard. I thought at first it was the wind.

"Blessed be the Name of the Eternal!"

Thousands of voices repeated the benediction; thousands of men prostrated themselves like trees before a tempest.

"Blessed be the Name of the Eternal!"

Why, but why should I bless Him? In every fiber I rebelled. Because He had had thousands of children burned in His pits? Because He kept six crematories working night and day, on Sundays and feast days? Because in His great might He had created Auschwitz, Birkenau, Buna, and so many factories of death? How could I say to Him: "Blessed art Thou, Eternal, Master of the Universe, Who chose us from among the races to be tortured day and night, to see our fathers, our mothers, our brothers, end in the crematory? Praised be Thy Holy Name, Thou Who hast chosen us to be butchered on Thine altar?"

I heard the voice of the officiant rising up, powerful yet at the same time broken, amid the tears, the sobs, the sighs of the whole congregation:

"All the earth and the Universe are God's!"

He kept stopping every moment, as though he did not have the strength to find the meaning beneath the words. The melody choked in his throat.

And I, mystic that I had been, I thought:

"Yes, man is very strong, greater than God. When You were deceived by Adam and Eve, You drove them out of Paradise. When Noah's generation displeased You, You brought down the Flood. When Sodom no longer found favor in Your eyes, You made the sky rain down fire and sulphur. But these men here, whom You have betrayed, whom You have allowed to be tortured, butchered, gassed, burned, what do they do? They pray before You! They praise Your name!"

"All creation bears witness to the Greatness of God!"

Once, New Year's Day had dominated my life. I knew that my sins grieved the Eternal; I implored his forgiveness. Once, I had believed profoundly that upon one solitary deed of mine, one solitary prayer, depended the salvation of the world.

This day I had ceased to plead. I was no longer capable of lamentation. On the contrary, I felt very strong. I was the accuser, God the accused. My eyes were open and I was alone—terribly alone in a world without God and without man. Without love or mercy. I had ceased to be anything but ashes, yet I felt myself to be stronger than the Almighty, to whom my life had been tied for so long. I stood amid that praying congregation, observing it like a stranger.

The service ended with the Kaddish. Everyone recited the Kaddish over his parents, over his children, over his brothers, and over himself.

We stayed for a long time at the assembly place. No one dared to drag himself away from this mirage. Then it was time to go to bed and slowly the prisoners made their way over to their blocks. I heard people wishing one another a Happy New Year!

I ran off to look for my father. And at the same time I was afraid of having to wish him a Happy New Year when I no longer believed in it.

He was standing near the wall, bowed down, his shoulders sagging as though beneath a heavy burden. I went up to him, took his hand and kissed it. A tear fell upon it. Whose was that tear? Mine? His? I said nothing. Nor did he. We had never understood one another so clearly.

The sound of the bell jolted us back to reality. We must go to bed. We came back from far away. I raised my eyes to look at my father's face leaning over mine, to try to discover a smile or something resembling one upon the aged, dried-up countenance. Nothing. Not the shadow of an expression. Beaten.

Yom Kippur. The Day of Atonement.

Should we fast? The question was hotly debated. To fast would mean a surer, swifter death. We fasted here the whole year round. The whole year was Yom Kippur. But others said that we should fast simply because it was dangerous to do so. We should show God that even here, in this enclosed hell, we were capable of singing His praises.

I did not fast, mainly to please my father, who had forbidden me to do so. But further, there was no longer any reason why I should fast. I no longer accepted God's silence. As I swallowed my bowl of soup, I saw in the gesture an act of rebellion and protest against Him.

And I nibbled my crust of bread.

In the depths of my heart, I felt a great void.

The Song of the Murdered Jewish People

Yitzhak Katzenelson

SING!
"Sing! Take your light, hollow harp in hand,
Strike hard with heavy fingers, like pain-filled
hearts
On its thin chords. Sing the last song.
Sing of the last Jews on Europe's soil."

—How can I sing? How can I open my lips?
I that am left alone in the wilderness—
My wife, my two children, alas!
I shudder . . . Someone's crying! I hear it from
afar.

"Sing, sing! Raise your tormented and broken
voice,
Look for Him, look up, if He is still there—
Sing to Him . . . Sing Him the last song of the
last Jew,
Who lived, died unburied, and is no more."
"Sing, sing! Raise your eyes towards the high,
blind skies
As if a God were there . . . Beckon to Him,—
As if a great joy still shone for us there!
Sit on the ruins of the murdered people and
sing!"

Come, you dried, ground, crushed Jewish bones.
Come, form a big circle around me, one great
ring—
Grandfathers, grandmothers, fathers, mothers
carrying babies,
Come, Jewish bones, out of powder and soup.

Emerge, reveal yourselves to me. Come, all of
you, come.
I want to see you. I want to look at you. I want
Silently and mutely to behold my murdered
people—
And I will sing . . . Yes . . . Hand me the harp
. . . I will play!

To the Heavens

This is how it began, from the start . . . Oh heavens, tell me why,
Why must we be so shamed on this great earth?
The deaf-mute earth's eyes seem shut. But you, heavens, you saw,
You watched from above and yet did not collapse!

Away! I will not look at you, see you, know you!
O you deceitful, tricky, lowly heavens on high. How I regret
Ever trusting you, confessing my joy, sadness, smiles and tears.
You're no better than the big, profaned dungheap—earth!

You don't know or recognize any of us, as if we were disguised.
We are the same Jews we were. We still sin against ourselves,
We still renounce our happiness to save the world.
O blue heavens, why are you so blue and beautiful while we are being murdered?

O heavens, you watched from above when my people's young were led to death
In bright days and dark nights, over water, on trains, on foot.
Millions of dying children lifted their hands to you, yet you were not moved!
Millions of noble mothers and fathers—yet your blue skin did not quiver.

You saw the eleven-year-old Yomeles, the ideal of goodness and joy
The young, serious, inquisitive, talented Ben-Zions, life's delight!
You saw the Hannahs who bore and dedicated them in God's house.
You watched . . . There is no God in you, false, empty heavens!

There is no God in you! Open your gates, O heavens, open them wide.
Take in all the children of my murdered, tormented people,
Open them to the great masses. An entire crucified, grief-laden people
Is about to enter. O any one of my murdered children is fit to be their God!

Rejoice, O heavens, rejoice! You were poor, now you are rich.
A plentiful harvest—a whole nation. What good fortune for you, heavens!
Rejoice with the Germans on high and let them rejoice with you below.
May a fire from earth ascend to you and a fire from you descend upon earth.

Ani Maamin

Ani maamin
Ani maamin
B'emunah shlema
B'viat hamashiah
Ani maamin.
V'af, al pi
Sheyitmahmeya
Im kol zeh
Ani maamin

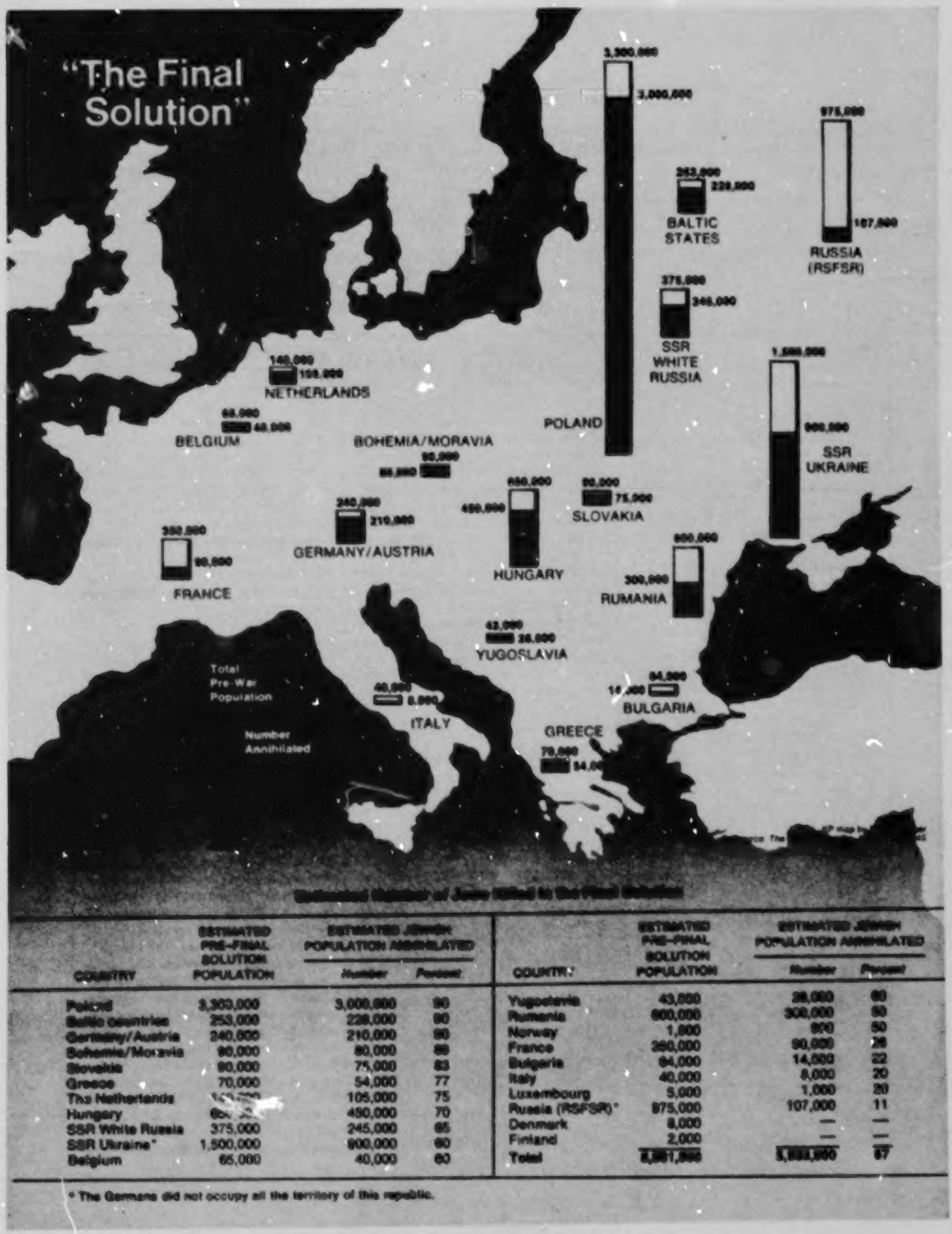
I believe in perfect faith
In the coming of the Messiah.
And though he tarries.
Nonetheless, I believe.

Questions For Discussion

1. What did Wiesel mean when he said he felt "a great void" after eating on Yom Kippur?
2. Which do you think was more important for camp prisoners; the preservation of the religious ritual of fasting under extreme conditions, or eating for bare survival? How important is the preservation of religious ritual to you? How would you feel if you could no longer practice it?
3. At one point, Katzenelson implores, "O blue heaven, why are you so blue and beautiful while we are being murdered?" Explain and contrast with the message of "Ani Maamin."
4. What is the meaning of the last two lines of Katzenelson's poem,
   "May a fire from earth ascend to you and a fire from you descend upon earth"?
5. Do you think the experience of the Holocaust would weaken or strengthen most people's faith in God? How would you answer the question, "Where was God during the Holocaust?"
6. React to the following statements by Weisel:
   "It is given to man to transform divine injustice into human justice and compassion."
   "God requires of man not that he live, but that he chooses to live. What matters is to choose—at risk of being defeated."

The Final Solution

Examine the chart estimating the number of Jews killed in "the final solution."


"The Final Solution"
Total Pre-War Population
Number Annihilated
3,300,000
3,000,000
POLAND
253,000
228,000
BALTIC STATES
975,000
107,000
RUSSIA (RSFSR)
375,000
245,000
SSR WHITE RUSSIA
1,500,000
900,000
SSR UKRAINE
140,000
105,000
NETHERLANDS
65,000
40,000
BELGIUM
BOHEMIA/MORAVIA
90,000
80,000
650,000
450,000
HUNGARY
90,000
75,000
SLOVAKIA
240,000
210,000
GERMANY/AUSTRIA
350,000
90,000
FRANCE
600,000
300,000
RUMANIA
43,000
26,000
YUGOSLAVIA
64,000
14,000
BULGARIA
40,000
8,000
ITALY
GREECE
70,000
54,0

Estimated Number of Jews Killed in the Final Solution

COUNTRY	ESTIMATED PRE-FINAL SOLUTION POPULATION	ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION ANNIHILATED	
		Number	Percent
Poland	3,300,000	3,000,000	90
Baltic countries	253,000	228,000	90
Germany/Austria	240,000	210,000	90
Bohemia/Moravia	90,000	80,000	89
Slovakia	90,000	75,000	83
Greece	70,000	54,000	77
The Netherlands	140,000	105,000	75
Hungary	650,000	450,000	70
SSR White Russia	375,000	245,000	65
SSR Ukraine*	1,500,000	900,000	60
Belgium	65,000	40,000	60

COUNTRY	ESTIMATED PRE-FINAL SOLUTION POPULATION	ESTIMATED JEWISH POPULATION ANNIHILATED	
		Number	Percent
Yugoslavia	43,000	26,000	60
Rumania	600,000	300,000	50
Norway	1,800	900	50
France	350,000	90,000	26
Bulgaria	64,000	14,000	22
Italy	40,000	8,000	20
Luxembourg	5,000	1,000	20
Russia (RSFSR)*	975,000	107,000	11
Denmark	8,000	—	—
Finland	2,000	—	—
Total	8,861,800	5,933,900	67

* The Germans did not occupy all the territory of this republic.

Questions for Discussion

1. What country suffered the largest Jewish losses?
2. How would you account for the differences among nations in the percentage of Jewish population killed?

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

Resistance and Intervention

Often misunderstood, the issue of resistance is critical to a deeper understanding of the Holocaust. Unfortunately, the resistance "issue" has been used as a tool to berate those who died for supposedly failing to fight back and "going like sheep to the slaughter." In this unit, various writers discuss the more visible open violence of ghetto uprisings, death camp revolts, and Partisan activities, as well as other means of resistance in both the ghettos and the camps. The assumption that the more violent forms of resistance resulted in the saving of lives is discussed. The controversial subject of Christian responses is examined, including dramatic examples of Christians who protested. The world's responses, especially those of the United States, England, and France are surveyed, resulting in discussion of a nation's moral commitment to respond to suffering elsewhere. Finally, the painful theological questions about the place of God in the Holocaust are raised. This unit introduces the reader to a broader series of issues that lead hopefully to larger questions of individual and national responsibility.

What Is the Best Form of Resistance?

Given your own judgment about what is success or failure and your goals of resistance, which of the following are the best forms of resistance for the *katzetniks*, the camp inmates?

____

Indicate your viewpoint with the following symbols:

+ Best form of resistance
0 Minimal resistance or little effect
* Very unwise resistance

_____ 1. Refuse to leave the trains upon arrival at the camp.
_____ 2. Attempt individual escape from the camp ground.
_____ 3. Organize an armed revolt against the SS.
_____ 4. Observe religious rituals.
_____ 5. Kill vicious *kapos* under cover of night and throw them in the latrines.
_____ 6. Take the pistol of an SS officer while in the courtyard for roll call and shoot as many as possible.
_____ 7. Organize foodstuffs, clothing, and drugs for collective use in the barracks.
_____ 8. Survive as best as possible until rescue by the Allied soldiers and partisans.
_____ 9. Sabotage Nazi efforts by performing shoddy work.
_____10. Become a *kapo* to shield *katzetniks* from harsher *kapos* and other SS.
_____11. Smuggle sick inmates into Canada for period of recuperation.
_____12. Organize political network to secretly coordinate *katzetnik* activities in the camp.
_____13. Convince SS by bribery, if necessary, that incoming groups of children should be allowed to live because they would make excellent workers.
_____14. Organize a study group.
_____15. Refuse to participate in revolting acts demanded by SS even if suicide is required.
_____16. Imitate identification with SS, attempt to find a place with SS and even do favors for them in an attempt to obtain secret information that could warn *katzetniks* of impending Nazi action.
_____17. Go to one's death in the gas chambers while praising the name of God.

Definitions

Kapo—inmate chosen to supervise other prisoners. Many were criminals or otherwise brutal human beings.

Canada—building where the inmates belongings—clothes, valises, brushes, etc. were stored. It was sometimes possible to hide inmates among the bundles.

To Die with Dignity

Milton Meltzer

One of the most dangerous popular myths to emerge from the Holocaust was the view that Jews were killed without resisting the Nazis. Such a charge implies that Jews were cowards who went "like sheep to the slaughter." In the minds of some people Jews were partly responsible for their own deaths; for, according to the myth, had they resisted violently, more Jews would have been saved.

First, let us look at other examples of oppression. Is a woman who has been raped a coward if she submitted to an attacker who held a knife at her throat? How do we react to the Christian martyrs who, without resistance, were slaughtered in the gladiator ring? Even if no victim of the Nazis had resisted, would we charge them with responsibility for their own murder? The issue of resistance by the oppressed is tinged with political overtones.

In this selection from *Never To Forget*, Milton Meltzer discusses the general issue of resistance, and compares Jewish and non-Jewish resistance. The author tries to explain that resistance was not easy for Jews or for citizens in the occupied countries. Are we to condemn the French for not rising to overthrow their oppressors? As Elie Wiesel has stated, "The question to be asked should not be why there was so *little* resistance, but how there was so *much*"?

Meltzer also indicates that open, armed conflict was not the only form of resistance. Young people today often think of resistance as the violent battle between two well-armed opponents. In reality, there are a variety of types of resistance, and open conflict is not always the wisest alternative.

Three times a week little Sima smuggled Jews out of the Minsk ghetto, evading the SS guards, and led them to the forests of Staroje-Sielo, 50 kilometers away. . . .

> Sima was a twelve-year-old girl with blonde hair, blue eyes, and dimples that showed when she talked. Her parents perished in the first German pogrom. In the beginning Sima lived outside the ghetto and carried out important assignments for the underground party committee. Later when we began to lead Jews out of the ghetto, Smolar brought the little girl to the ghetto and she became our contact with the forest.
>
> No assignment was too difficult for Sima. Before going out on a mission, she listened carefully to the given instruction; then she would repeat what she was told, trying hard not to miss a single word. Her small pistol was always in the special pocket sewn into her coat. Before starting out, she would always point to it and say, "Don't worry, the Fritzes will not take me alive."
>
> On cold winter nights Sima would sneak out of the ghetto through an opening beneath the barbed wire fence. She returned to the ghetto through the cemetery. There were times when she did not succeed in getting into the ghetto at night. When this happened, she would spend the night, hungry and cold, in some bombed-out building, and remain there throughout the next day. At dusk, when the Jews returned from work, she would steathily join their column, and together with them enter the ghetto. After the liquidation of the Minsk ghetto, Sima participated in the combat operations of the partisan detachment.

Sima had an indomitable will to live. She resisted the Nazis, and she survived. Later, when the Germans, now losing the war, were driven out in summer, 1944, Sima marched through Minsk in the front ranks of the partisans. Hers was one of the many forms of resistance to Hitler's persecution. Wherever there was oppression, resistance of some kind emerged. The watchword of the Jewish resistance was: "Live and die with dignity!" And despite the greatest terror, hunger, and privation, Jews upheld that watchword. They did not want simply to vanish silently from the earth.

Acts of resistance were countered by the Nazis with a violence beyond belief. In 1941, a group of Dutch Jews dared to attack German police in Amsterdam. Hannah Arendt reports their punishment:

> Four hundred thirty Jews were arrested in reprisal and they were literally tortured to death, first in Buchenwald and then in Mauthausen. For months they died a thousand deaths, and every single one of them would have envied his brethren in Auschwitz and even in Riga and Minsk. There exist many things considerably worse than death, and the SS saw to it that none of them was ever very far from their victims' minds and imagination.

Under such conditions, those who conducted an organized and armed resistance were a minority. That even such a minority existed was a miracle. The right question to ask, Elie Wiesel has said, is not: Why didn't *all* the Jews fight? but How did *so many* of them?

Another question to examine is: What was the degree of resistance among non-Jews? Hitler's armies swept over most of Europe with incredible speed. Everyone attributed it to the superior power of the German military forces. The vanquished nations, all of them, had trained and equipped armies. The Jews had nothing. The Nazis killed myriads of people in the parts of Russia they occupied, a territory whose population greatly outnumbered the German troops. How much resistance did Hitler encounter there? Millions of Russian captives were transported to German prisons and labor camps and treated so brutally that 5 million of them died. How many riots or acts of resistance took place among them? Yet no one accuses them of going like sheep to slaughter. No, the vast majority in the prisoner-of-war camps behaved much as did the civilians in the occupied countries. They were inert, passive; they did what they were ordered to do, hoping simply to survive. A minority chose to collaborate with the Nazis. Another minority chose to actively resist.

The purpose here is not to criticize or demean others, only to indicate how hard it is for anyone to resist a ruthless totalitarian power which commands modern weapons and employs elaborate means to crush opposition.

Even so, throughout occupied Europe, when the terrible truth about the Final Solution became clear to some Jews, they urged the others to resist physically. Realists accepted the fact that Hitler meant to annihilate every Jew in Europe, but the majority of Jews could not believe this would happen. Partly because the Germans shrouded their evil work in utter secrecy. Partly because the Germans used many forms of deception to confuse and mislead their victims. And perhaps most importantly, because the very idea of mechanical and systematic mass murder struck most people—everywhere in the world—as utterly inconceivable. It seemed infinitely different from the earlier examples of what came to be known as genocide. It went far beyond the reach of human imagination. As Dr. Louis de Jong, a Dutch historian of the Holocaust, once said, "Our mind, once having grasped the facts, immediately spewed them out as something utterly alien and unnaturally loathsome." A group of Jehovah's Witnesses, who were put in the death camp at Birkenau, by the side of the gas chambers and crematoriums, said later, "One day we would believe our own eyes; the next day we would simply refuse to do so." Another Hollander, Emile Franken, was one of a group in Birkenau which saw the crematorium chimneys smoking day in and day out. But the inmates, "the people themselves," he said, "pretended that the place was a brickyard or a soap factory. This mass delusion lasted for four weeks."

The gas chambers spelled death not only for oneself but for husband, wife, children, grandparents, relatives, friends. How many among the millions who died in them could face that awesome truth? Professor de Jong concludes:

> We should be committing an immense historical error, were we to dismiss the many defense mechanisms employed by the victims—not constantly, mind you, but by way of intermittent distress signals—as mere symptoms of blindness or foolishness; rather did these defense mechanisms spring from deep and inherent qualities shared by all mankind: a love of life, a love of family, a fear of death, and an understandable inability to grasp the reality of the greatest crime in the history of mankind, a crime so monstrous . . . that even its perpetrators (the sadists and other perverts among them excepted) were unable to dwell on their activities for too long.

As some Jews became convinced that their people were doomed, the natural question to ask was: How then shall we die? One answer was to frustrate the enemy by not making it easy for him: Do not commit suicide; stay alive as long as you can. The simple act of living on became a form of passive resistance. Many expressed that resistance by carrying on their traditional religious life—praying, singing, studying the Talmud, observing the Holy Days—and their cultural activities in the ghettos. Others hid from the enemy as long as they could. Some bore children as if to say, No matter what you do, the generations will go on.

Other Jews, who began to understand that Nazi terror was a totally different order of life, chose more active ways of responding to it. They felt it was hopeless to rely on legal methods in such a morally criminal system. So people learned how to use bribery, smuggling, forgery, theft, spying, sabotage, violence. They saw these as weapons of defense against a power committed to their destruction. They bribed the enemy; they smuggled food and people; they stole bread and guns; they forged papers—birth and baptismal certificates, residence cards, ration cards, work cards, registration forms, passports. They planted spies in the enemy's ranks; they sabotaged war production; they blew up trains and bridges and buildings; they shot and stabbed and poisoned Hitlerites.

The essential fact is that one can resist in a great many ways, by acting and yes, sometimes, by refusing to act. Armed fighting, for those physically able to undertake it, will usually do the most damage to the enemy. And, of course, there were armed battles. That aspect of Jewish resistance—apart from the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising—is almost ignored in the earlier accounts of the Holocaust.

Questions for Discussion

1. Who was Sima and how did she help resist the Nazis? Was this resistance worthwhile? Explain.
2. What is meant by the phrase "Live and Die with Dignity"?
3. What point does the author make about resistance in the occupied countries?
4. How do you react to Professor de Jong's argument that people, even in the face of death, have difficulty facing reality?
5. Can you think of an example in your own life when you performed an act of resistance? What kind of resistance was it?
6. It has been argued that violent resistance is not common to people and thus it should not be surprising to learn that there was almost no violent resistance among the seven million foreign workers in Germany, the civilians in Lidice who were massacred, the British 2nd Battalion Norfolk Regiment at Paradis, the 129 Americans killed near St. Vith, and those prisoners of war killed by the "Bullet Decree" in Mauthausen. Jews have been asked why they supposedly did not "resist" when others may have resisted even less. What do you make of this?

Revolt in Lachwa

Aaron Schworin, Chaim Shkliar, Abraham Feinberg, Chaim Michali

This is a true story about the Jews of the Lachwa Ghetto in Byelorussia and their refusal to die passively. Even in the face of death, members of the ghetto remained concerned about the lives of the elderly and the very young. In that particular ghetto, the local Judenrat actively took part in the uprising. It is also an example, like the famous Warsaw Ghetto uprising in 1943, of violent resistance.

Lachwa had a community of 2,000 Jews. With the outbreak of World War II, on September 1, 1939, the Jewish population of Lachwa increased by 40 percent. Jewish refugees from the German-occupied areas fled to Lachwa, which was already in the Soviet zone. The native Jews lived side by side with the new arrivals. In the summer of 1941, when the German–Soviet war broke out, only a small percentage of the population saved itself by fleeing deeper inland. The majority, however, remained and fell into the hands of the Germans.

The Germans occupied Lachwa on July 8, 1941, and the persecution of the Jews began at once. For this the Germans found devoted helpers among the native Byelorussians, who joined the police force, put on white armbands, and strutted arrogantly through the streets with rubber truncheons in their hands shouting, "Your time has come, Jews!"

On the eve of Passover, April, 1942, the Jews were herded into a ghetto which consisted of two small streets. It was terribly crowded. The ghetto was surrounded by a barbed wire fence and guarded by local police and patrols of the German Wehrmacht.

A large section of the native population viewed with satisfaction the misfortune of the Jews and looked forward to their annihilation so that they could satisfy their lust for looting. But there were also some elderly peasants who took in the Jewish possessions for safekeeping and later returned them to the surviving Jews.

The ghetto did not exist long. Together with other ghettos in nearby towns, the Lachwa Ghetto was to be liquidated in 1942. But in Lachwa it happened differently.

All the towns in the vicinity of Lachwa had already been made Judenrein. The Jews of Lachwa felt that their days, too, were numbered. The youth began to organize itself for resistance, but despite all efforts it was impossible to obtain weapons. Still the ghetto was determined not to allow itself to be driven to the slaughter like sheep. At the head of the resistance group was Yitzchok Rochtchin. Preparations were made to meet the murderers with axes, hammers—with anything that could deliver a deathblow.

On August 2, 1942, the Germans ordered peasants to dig a pit at the outskirts of town, fifty meters long and four meters wide. On the night of August 3, the lookouts posted by the ghetto committee noticed an increase in the number of native police that surrounded the ghetto, on all sides. The news was quickly spread throughout the ghetto, and the people began to gather near the gate that led to the square.

Shooting was heard continuously from the direction of Nohorodek, a town six kilometers from Lachwa, where the Germans were liquidating the last survivors of the ghetto. In this tragic moment a heated discussion arose among the assembled Jews on how to resist the criminals. The proposal of the youth was that the entire mass attack the Germans at once, storm the gates and the barbed wire fence, and escape to the swamps of the Pripet. But the idea was abandoned because of the concern for the old, women, and children who would not have enough strength to flee from their pursuers. Family sentiment conquered logic. The nightmarish prospect of abandoning one's dearest relatives to the Nazis made one relinquish the luring possibility of one's own survival.

At eight in the morning, while the excited populace was still debating, five truckloads of SS men arrived. They were the same liquidation commandos that carried out the annihilation of tens of thousands of Jews in Polesia. They leisurely sat down to eat. They had not had a bite of food in six hours because they were busy liquidating the Jews of Nohorodel and Luniniece.

When several members of the ghetto committee, the Judenrat, approached the Germans and asked why they had come here, they replied calmly that they came to liquidate the Jews of the Lachwa Ghetto, and added, "But we decided to let thirty of you live, including the members of the Committee and about three to four people of every useful trade . . . And now 'be so kind' and ask the gathering to go back home and wait there until we call for them . . .. . ."

At this, Dov Lopatin, president of the ghetto committee, cried out, "You will not murder us piecemeal! Either we all live, or we all die!"

At this moment the SS men entered the ghetto and ordered everyone to line up. Instead, the Jews ran to their houses and set them on fire. Dov Lopatin was the first to apply the torch to the headquarters of the Judenrat. Soon all the others followed his example. Smoke and flames shot up in the air. A panic arose among the SS. They fired into the crowd. The first victims fell. They were Abraham Slutski and Israel Drepski.

Yitzchok Rochtchin attacked the SS chief with an ax. The SS officer fell to the ground, covered with blood. Having no way out Rochtchin jumped into the nearby river. He was struck down by a bullet. At the same time another SS man was felled at the gate by Chaim Cheiffetz and the brothers Asher and Moshe-Leib Cheiffetz. Still another German fell at the hands of Moshe Klopnitzki.

Now the crowd was aroused and stormed the ghetto gate. Those who were able to run did, leaving behind a flaming ghetto. They were pursued and shot at. Many fell. The town was littered with corpses. People ran with their last ounce of strength to the forests near the river Pripet, hoping to find a haven there. Of the 2,000 Jews, about 600 managed to reach their destination. But the police and the Byelorussians of that region, who pursued them, murdered most of them brutally. The forester Polin with his own hands shot about 200 Jews.

The Germans succeeded in leading to the grave only a few, because young and old alike ran. They would rather die from a bullet while running than be led to the grave.

Several days later 120 Lachwa Jews gathered in the Chobot forest, about twenty kilometers from town, and joined the partisans, fighting side by side with them, and later with the Red Army, thus taking revenge for their beloved ones.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why did the Germans want "helpers" from the native population?
2. How do you feel about using force to combat violence? Explain.
3. Was there any other way for the people of Lachwa to respond?
4. Do you think it was right to change the escape plans for the sake of the elders and children? Explain.
5. Historian Yehuda Bauer reports that in late 1941, a resistance group led by Yaakov Segalchik and Leib Mintzel was formed in Dolhynov, a small Byelorussian town with 3,000 Jews. They were caught by Byelorussian police and Germans and were tortured. They then escaped from their prison cells into the ghetto. The next day, the local Judenrat leader was told by the Nazis that all of Dolhynov's Jews would be killed unless Segalchik and Mintzel gave themselves up. What should the two resistors have done? You should know that two days later, 1,540 Dolhynov Jews were slaughtered with the help of the local non-Jewish population.

Definition

Byelorussians—inhabitants of former White Russia, an area bordering on Poland, Latvia, and Lithuania, which includes the Pripet Marshes.

Judenrein—territory where no Jews may live.

Life in Extremis: Moral Action and the Camps

You may feel uncomfortable responding to each of these situations; they all actually happened.

In each of the following situations, indicate with either a *Yes* or *No* how you would answer the question.

Yes No

___ ___ 1. A chance for escape from Auschwitz appears for one inmate. But he must accept leaving his younger son who is simply too weak to travel. The father and son have shielded each other during their camp experience.

Knowing this, should the father attempt the escape?

___ ___ 2. A young man breaks down when told of the death of his family. He decides that in the morning he will commit suicide by attacking an SS officer. Because of the Nazi practice of mass reprisal, his act will cost the lives of all 400 men in the barracks.

If the young man cannot be convinced to change his mind, should he be killed by the underground to protect the interest of the larger group?

___ ___ 3. An inmate desperately needs certain medicines to survive. Medicines can be obtained by giving in to the sexual desires of a particular SS officer who has access to medicines. Should a friend of the man try to obtain the medicines if this is the only way he can get them?

___ ___ 4. An inmate in the barracks is caught stealing bread during the night from a fellow katzetnik. Should the inmate be beaten severely as a lesson to all that certain behavior cannot be tolerated?

___ ___ 5. An inmate in the barracks has been found to be an informer for the SS. He acts the role of a cooperative katzetnik, but several inmates know he is a spy for the Germans. Should the informer be killed?

___ ___ 6. A number of inmates have been placed on the death list for the coming week. These individuals are essential to maintaining the underground. Several katzetniks have the power to replace their numbers on the death list with others who are already very sick. Should this switch be made?

___ ___ 7. In many camps, women who gave birth were automatically sent with their newborn children to the ovens. A decision can be made to save the mothers by making the newborn infants "stillborn." Should the decision to kill the children to save the mothers be made?

Resistance in the Camps

Resistance was anything that contradicted Nazi objectives. Anything that eased pain or saved life, was resistance. There was a price to be paid for any resistance: Open conflict ran the risk of death for oneself and also for others. All decisions had to be made within this context. Perhaps the most painful issue for judgment concerns not the methods of resistance by tortured prisoners as much as the response of the rest of the world to their plight. Remember the victims had to contend with:

(1) little access to weapons
(2) no mobility
(3) a process of physical and psychological torture designed to tear them down

And yet there was resistance; a great deal of it. There were two types: quiet, underground "guerrilla" resistance and the open, and often violent, armed conflict. There was a great deal of the first; and the second was to emerge in revolts in some of the major camps, ghettos and in the forests. All of these forms of camp resistance were designed to keep more people alive. It was assumed that those involved in resistance were to be especially protected. What occurred in the camps was not easy to comprehend; by seeming to go along with the process of death, inmates were able to save lives. Much of this is more fully discussed in Terrence Des Pres', *The Survivor.*

---

1. There was massive smuggling from warehouses and supply rooms. Most labor in the camps was prison labor. Those working in key places could steal things like sardines, figs, fruit, salami, bacon, cake, bread to shirts, soap, and gloves—supplies intended for the Nazis. This was all done at great risk—but it was done. ("Canada" was a major detail for smuggling).
2. There was smuggling from the medical block. Medicines were stolen, names were jockeyed, symptoms were lied about, people were "submerged" in typhus wards.
3. Bank notes were stolen and used as toilet paper.
4. Letters were passed from one camp to another to maintain communication and contacts.
5. Members of the same family were reunited when possible.
6. Cooperatives were formed in the camp to pool resources.
7. Tools were made. For example, a needle could be made by using a smashed light bulb to form a hole in a fishbone.
8. People lied about their abilities. One tried to avoid "general work assignment" which ran the greatest risk of death.
9. An entire system of mimicry of SS methods was used to prevent SS aims. Prisoners protected others from certain death by identification with SS methods. Prisoner "A" would be left with Prisoner "B," whom the SS was convinced would continue to beat and abuse Prisoner "A." Instead, Prisoner "B" saved the other prisoner.
10. Crates of food were accidentally dropped and reported as "shipment damage," and often smuggled out of the garbage to the prisoners.
11. Locksmiths, who had special authority to go anywhere in the camp, were useful in keeping contacts with various resistance groups.
12. Inmates took advantage of work assigned:
    (a) In the Orderly Room, one could secretly retouch files, reassign barracks, rearrange ration distribution.
    (b) In "Labor Records," people were scratched off the list for death shipments.
    (c) In "Camp Police," discipline was camouflaged.
13. There was the quiet sabotage of slackened work, faulty planning, and poor performance. The issue of whether to be a good worker was a major one.
14. Through bribery of SS guards, children could be saved from the gas chambers.
15. Those who worked as messengers, typists, and file clerks kept tabs on death lists, transports, and SS policy shifts, and notified resistance leaders.
16. Particularly bad Kapos could mysteriously disappear. They were set upon at night, beaten, and thrown in the cesspool where they were found days later.
17. Sick people could be smuggled into "Canada" to hide among the clothing for needed rest.
18. Those who would fall in roll call (certain death) would be propped up on both sides by fellow inmates.
19. Weaker prisoners were reassigned or helped in heavy labor.
20. There were innumerable cases of one inmate giving food to another.

Definition

Canada—building where inmates' belongings were stored.

Song of the Partisans

Hirsh Glick

Hirsh Glick, a Polish Jew in the Vilna Ghetto, wrote the "Song of the Partisans" in Yiddish in 1943 after the Warsaw Ghetto uprising. It spread to all concentration camps. By the war's end, it was sung by Jews the world over.

O never say that you have come to your journey's end,
When days turn black, and clouds upon our world descend.
Believe the dark will lift, and freedom yet appear.
Our marching feet will tell the world that we are here.

The dawn will break, our world will yet emerge in light,
Our agony will pass and vanish as the night.
But if our hoped for rescue should arrive too late
These lines will tell the world the drama that was played.

No poet's playful muse has turned my pen to write,
I wrote this song amidst the anguish of our plight.
We sang it as we watched the flames destroy our world,
Our song is a banner of defiance we unfurled.

O never say that you have come to your journey's end,
When days turn black, and clouds upon our world descend.
Believe the dark will lift, and freedom yet appear.
Our marching feet will tell the world that we are here.

(Translated by Ben Zion Bokser)

Questions for Discussion

1. How do you respond to revenge as a motive for survival?
2. Inspirational songs written by oppressed people have been common in history. What does this tell us about the will of the oppressed? Can you think of other songs that have encouraged the oppressed to overcome their plight?

The Treblinka Revolt

Michael Elkins

As the "final solution" became the clear policy of the Nazis, prisoners in the death camps turned to more violent types of resistance. Despite the difficulty of planning a successful revolt, the *Sonderkommando* at Auschwitz blew up one of the crematoria. Hundreds of prisoners escaped from the death camp at Sobibor in a violent revolt. And, at Treblinka, prisoners led by Judah Klein and several others revolted in August 1943. Klein was a Warsaw wigmaker who had made sheytls (wigs) for Orthodox Jewish women. When Klein came to Treblinka, he wanted to commit suicide. But influenced by one dedicated man, Klein chose to become part of a plot intended to destroy the camp. That revolt is described graphically in this selection from *Forged in Fury* by Michael Elkins.

The Treblinka revolt required strong leadership, carefully collected weapons, and, most of all, patience in planning. This patience would extend even to allowing the uprising's leader to die in the gas chambers rather than to revolt prematurely. The following reading indicates the difficulty of planning such a revolt as well as the immense odds against the prisoners. Students can judge for themselves the value of such revolts.

The plan for a mass escape from Treblinka began with one of the "permanent" inmates, Dr. Julian Chorazyski. Chorazyski was a surgeon, a former captain in the medical corps of the Polish army; a tough man, with that rare cartilaginous tenacity that is a quality of mind that has nothing to do with the muscles of the body. So that when Judah Klein met him—though five months in Treblinka had worn the doctor down to a shambling, big-boned skeleton in a sack of graying skin—the toughness was still there, limitless.

The meeting occurred three days after Judah's arrival at the camp, and the circumstances—in any other time and place—might have been considered unusual. Judah was trying to kill himself. . . . So he sat down in a corner of the barracks and sawed away at the veins in his wrist with a piece of rusty tin.

Chorazyski squatted down beside Judah and whispered to him: "You're doing it wrong. I'm a doctor and I know, you'll never get it done that way."

Picture it! The two creatures crouched on the filthy floor, one trying with trembling fingers to let his life out through his veins and the other—a doctor—telling him gently how to go about it, until the one gives the piece of tin to the other and says—"Here, please, help me. Do it for me."

"Me?" says Chorazyski. "Why should I help you? You don't help anyone. What will you do for me?"

Judah looks up at him, and begins fumbling at the laces of his worn shoes. "I'll give you my shoes; please, you can have my clothes."

"I don't want your clothes, I'll tell you what I want, I want a German. You can give me a German. Listen, I'll explain it to you. You want to die, it's a good idea. Go out and jump on a German, fasten your teeth in his throat and tear out his jugular vein, put out his eyes with your thumbs. With luck you'll kill him for us and for those he's killed. You want to die? Good, take one with you."

For a moment, Judah stares, then he gets up and starts for the door, and he's changed, now, now he belongs to Chorazyski. The doctor goes with him, an arm around the little man's shoulders. And just inside the door, "Wait a minute. You want to kill a German? Why only one? Wait a little bit longer," Chorazyski whispers, "and I'll show you how to kill a lot of them. Only wait a little bit."

The waiting took a year; but Judah Klein was no longer a man alone thinking only of himself and with only guilt and self-hate to keep him company. Now he had a friend, and others besides himself to hate, and with these—a man can wait. . . .

For the year that it was planned and prepared, the Treblinka revolt depended on half a dozen men. There were Dr. Julian Chorazyski; Dr. Marius Leichert, like Chorazyski a former Polish army officer; Samuel Rajzman and Yosef Gross, who were machinists; a maintenance electrician named Eliahu Grinsbach; and Judah Klein. . . .

The difficulties were incredible. Though Treblinka was a small camp, so many thousands of Jews were being processed to death there that the Germans maintained a relatively large guard detachment. The German and Ukrainian personnel totalled seven hundred men and thirty Helferinnen, the SS women's auxiliaries. There were twelve killer dogs. It was clear that the conspirators could hope for, but not really count on, support from whatever thousands of Jews might be en route from the freight cars to the gas chambers at the moment the revolt burst. But these transients were always in a state of such catatonic terror during their brief journey through the barbed-wire corridors from their arrival to their death that they were an unpredictable factor. So the only dependable allies were to be found among the seven hundred of the "steady" inmate population. That made a rough numerical equality between those who might join the revolt and those who would crush it. Seven hundred diseased and starving Jews penned behind double rows of barbed wire against seven hundred SS men trained as a military force, armed with pistols, rifles, machine guns, grenades. Assuming some Jews got past the guards and through the wire, there was the leveled and scorched earth that stretched in a perimeter four hundred yards deep all around the camp; they had this to cross with the machine guns in the guard towers at their backs before they reached the sheltering forest. And the forest—miles of swamp and underbrush, with no paths that they knew and no food they could get. And all of it in the rear-echelon areas of the German army.

Under such circumstances, to hope for the success of the revolt would have been a manic fantasy. . . . What they did hope for—and even this was wildly optimistic—was, as Chorazyski put it to Judah Klein, "to kill a lot" of Germans. From the nature of the preparations that they made, it seems clear that *killing* was the aim. They made little effort to collect civilian clothes, or to forge identity papers, though these were vital if they were to pass among the Polish population outside the camp. What they did in their year of preparation was to collect weapons and, slowly and with great caution, to sound out the people who might use them. The men who cleaned the camp saved every scrap of metal they found and passed it on. Dud bullets and ejected cartridge cases were stolen from the SS target range. The powder was taken from the defective bullets and packed with the cartridge cases and other scraps into hoarded tin cans, fused with bits of cloth. These, hopefully, became bombs. Knives were fashioned out of other metal garbage and surreptitiously honed to some kind of edge by scraping them for hours on bits of stone. In the hair factory, Judah Klein plaited short strangling nooses, and longer ropes tipped with stones. They made blackjacks by stuffing stones into small cloth sacks. All of these had to be hidden from the guards, buried under ground, hung into the fecal mess of the latrines. They agonized over the fear of informers, they sweated blood during the flash searches of the camp. Little by little, the hoard of "weapons" grew, and they shut their eyes to the fact that it all amounted to nothing.

Then, in July 1943, Arbeitsführer Carl Gustav Farfi—the labor boss of Treblinka—came down with a case of bleeding hemorrhoids and this ridiculous happenstance took on the aspect of a miracle.

Farfi was . . . an ignorant and superstitious man. An old-line Nazi, stuffed full with all the racial abracadabra of his kind, Farfi nonetheless clung to his medieval idea that the Jew—by virtue of his Jewishness—had certain special talents, and among these the gift of healing. So that when pain came in this particular fashion to this stupid butchering übermensch, he took his embarrassing troubles not to the SS doctors, but to the Jew—Dr. Julian Chorazyski.

Farfi made all the arrangements, and there he was—on the bright summer's day—stretched out on his stomach, his fat buttocks bare, on a table pulled close to the sunlit window, with his trousers draped over a chair and a key to the iron door of the arms arsenal in his pocket, and his eyes clamped shut against the terrifying sight of the scalpels and the hypodermic needles. It all went well. Chorazyski covered his patient's head and upper body with a sheet—important to keep things sterile, you know—slid the novacaine into Farfi's behind, and moved around with a great clattering of the frightening instruments while he slipped the keys from Farfi's trousers and tossed them to Yosef Gross who came wandering past the window at the properly planned moment. It was perhaps the longest hemorrhoid operation in history; long enough for Gross, the machinist, to go and file a duplicate key out of a scrap of brass and get the original back to Chorazyski before Farfi was permitted to raise his head and wipe the tears from his eyes.

So now they had a key; and weapons, real weapons, were within their reach. The miracle had happened, but there was a sting in it. The next day, there was a selection for the gas chambers and Dr. Julian Chorazyski was taken to his death. No one really knows whether Farfi arranged this, fearing the word would get around that he had gone to a Jewish doctor. . . .

For a flashing instant, it seemed the revolt would be born. . . . But Chorazyski put a restraining hand on Judah Klein's arm and shook his head at the others who moved to group about him. Clearly this unprepared, unarmed moment was not the time. So Chorazyski, who was a fighting man, went in this way and for this reason submissively to his death.

The leader was gone. They had paid for their miracle.

There were forty of them in the plot by then, and the loss of Chorazyski nearly broke them. He had recruited each of them; he had been for them iron and rock and father and friend. . . . These men in Treblinka were not normal. They were sick, starved, they stumbled when they walked, their minds quivered on the edge of madness. It was Judah Klein and Marius Leichert who found the strength to pull the group together again. Judah out of the hate that drove him, and Leichert because he had something of Chorazyski's iron in him. . . .

They decided to stage the revolt when the Germans brought in the next transport of Jews to be executed, and they revised their plans to fit the fact that they now had a chance at getting weapons. . . . So it was decided that Leichert and four others would sneak into the arsenal just before the revolt was to start and be ready to hand guns and grenades to the Jews who would rush to the arsenal when the signal was given. Leichert's group would then remain in the concrete blockhouse and hold it against the off-duty SS men who would undoubtedly run there to arm themselves when the revolt broke out. This meant that as long as the Jews held the arsenal, the Germans would be compelled to concentrate substantial forces against them; it also meant that the five men would certainly be killed. . . .

It was decided that Yosef Gross, who as a maintenance worker had more freedom of movement than most, would touch off the revolt. He would be given a couple of hand grenades and would get down to the railroad junction and throw them at the guards who massed there when a transport came in. He was to wait for the critical moment when the Jews were out of the freight cars and the guards were busy driving them to the gas chambers. The explosion of Gross's grenades would be the signal for the revolt. In the hair factory, Klein and his men would start to kill the guards and call on the other Jews working there to join them. Samuel Rajzman and his group would do the same at the rockcrushing plant. Others were to rush the perimeter fence and try to blow up the guard towers just beyond with homemade bombs; still others would try to tear down the fence in as many places as possible; the sonderkommandos would attack the SS men within the gas-chamber compound. Each of the groups was to mobilize as many of the Jews as would join them, as the revolt broke, for the specific task assigned to each group. The idea was to keep going, in an explosion of speed and violence, to do as much damage and as much killing as possible, and to keep moving, those who could get out of the camp to head for the woods beyond; and beyond that, there was no plan. . . .

August 2, 1943, and the seven hundred inmates of the Treblinka camp up, as always, in the first thin flicker of dawn and out of the barracks for the morning *Appell:* . . . And among the seven hundred, there were forty men who stood like rock, desperately careful to catch no guard's eyes. . . .

The hours dragged, and it was noon; it was one o'clock; it was two; it was three fifteen. . . . Twenty feet from the tower, Yosef Gross kept his head down and tried to make himself invisible . . . as Kurt Franz passed by, the black dog panting at his side and slavering in the heat. SS Obersturmbannführer Kurt Franz, commandant of Treblinka, the Knight's Cross of Gold gleaming on the black uniform, the death's head like bleached bone on the black cap, the face beneath it blond, open, innocent as a medieval choirboy, reflecting nothing of the maniac who took young Jewish girls to his bed and strangled them at the moment of his orgasm and stuffed the naked bodies under his bed until morning, or, sometimes, until the festering corpses swelled and stank. Gross watched the commandant pass and swore to kill him before the day was out. . . .

It was three thirty now, and looking down from the depot at Treblinka one could see the line of smoke advancing from the horizon. . . .

Suddenly the rusting locomotive was there; behind it, the twenty boxcars, the wooden walls of each containing—crushing in on—two hundred parched, starving, and bewildered Jews, four thousand frightened Jews in twenty filthy freight cars. It began then, all at once: the harsh shouted guttural German commands the doors slamming open the Jews bulging out spilling out the hard hands throwing them on their way the clubs beating them into the barbed-wire corridor the first hundred already driven past the compound and into the brick building that housed the gas chambers. And then, too soon, Yosef Gross forgot it all, forgot that he was to wait until the gas chambers were full and the corridors full and the guards strung the whole length of the six hundred yards between the depot and the gas chambers. Gross didn't wait, couldn't wait. He came whirling away from the pylon, tearing the grenades out of his shirt, the first one to blow apart the tower guard and send the machine gun hurtling down; the second grenade thrown at Kurt Franz, killing the six SS men near him and wounding Dr. Mitter, but missing Franz. And then Gross, screaming, flinging himself like a dog at Franz's throat, tearing at him like a dog; but a real dog was there, Franz's dog, and Gross was down and dead, the blood bubbling out of the hole where his face had been.

The Treblinka revolt had begun!

All over the camp, guards and inmates stood fixed in the one instant of paralysis at the crash of the first grenade. Then it began and by the time the second explosion came they were already in movement, the fighting gaining speed and space, spreading like a landslide. . . . Judah Klein flung himself backward from the bench of the loom, rolling like a cat, and up with the strangler's cord of hair taut between his hands and on to the back of the guard, tripped and down with two of the others trying to kill him and the noose hissing beneath his head, biting into his neck as Judah thrust his hands across and heaved upward, the snap of bone clean and sharp, Judah up and away, pausing to rip the guard's pistol from his holster, that instant saving him as another guard came in the doorway, his machine pistol swung in a stuttering arc that killed four men before Judah had the gun and cut him down. . . . Elsewhere in the hair factory, other guards died, blinded by hair blankets flung over their heads and beaten to death, strangled by the hair nooses, thrown through the second-floor windows to the ground below and kicked to death when the men came rushing out into the yard. . . . Marius Leichert tore out of the clinic courtyard, leaving a guard behind him screaming, his hands fluttering at his face where Leichert's terrible rake had clawed out his eyes and ripped off the flesh; Leichert and his men away, racing for the arsenal, to be thrown off their feet as the wall of the guard's barracks was blown apart when the two Jews who cleaned there hurled their grenades in among the sleeping SS men. Leichert came up, clutching his broken shoulder, and was off again, the others behind him, in a stumbling run; a frantic second with the key rattling in the lock of the iron door and they were in the arsenal, ripping the guns from the racks as Samuel Rajzman and his men, those that were left of them, the first away, came tearing in shouting for guns, screaming for guns. . . . Eighty Jews were down and dead already in the packed mass of the gas-chamber compound and the men of the sonderkommandos had killed seven guards and were tearing themselves to bits on the cruel barbs of the fences, trying to get out of the sight of the SS man on the roof of the building who was up there with a submachine gun knocking them over as though they were wooden ducks at a target range. . . . In the fenced corridor from the railroad siding to the gas chambers, at the railroad depot itself, the four thousand Jews who had just arrived were a seething, screaming, hysterical mob of men and women and children, trampling each other underfoot, some of them fighting to get back into the freight cars, clawing for shelter under the train, trying to get away from the searching leaden hail that tore their lives out, that smashed through body and brain and bone. . . . The main gate was down already, blown by the grenades of the three men who had this job, and two hundred of the Treblinka Jews had rushed the broken gate, most of them to pile up in a heaving clump of dead and dying, trapped in the cross fire of two machine guns the skilled and disciplined SS men had rushed to the gate in the first moments of the revolt. . . . All along the fence, men had died tearing at the barbed wire and other men were after them, dying there, and only some of them out, through the few—the terribly few—gaps, out and away and racing across the stubbled fields for the sheltering woods beyond; Judah Klein among them, and Samuel Rajzman, and 180 others. But not Leichert, not the men with him, not any of those who had rushed to the arsenal—a few of them to get the guns they hadn't known about, the gun that was hidden always in a corner room of the nearby administration building, that commanded the front of the arsenal, and under gunfire from the tower that covered the back of the arsenal, and under the rifle grenades of a squad of SS men sheltered in a storehouse across the way who killed them calmly, skillfully, with trained precision. . . .

It was three forty-six in the afternoon, and it was over. The Treblinka revolt had lasted eleven minutes and it was over. Of the SS men, 117 were dead and wounded; 1100 Jews were dead, the rest of the thousands lying face down in the seeping marsh of dirt and blood within the barbed-wire corridor and the railroad depot, lying still, the lifted head, the slightest movement bringing a volley from the tense and hating guards who ringed them about. And 180 Jews, only a few of them armed, into the woods like animals, to be hunted down like animals by the Treblinka guards and a task force of a thousand SS men and soldiers of the regular German army sent in by Heinrich Himmler himself.

For four days, the Germans prowled the forest, tracing the Jews with packs of hunting dogs, spotting them with helicopters, burning them out of the underbrush with flamethrowers, killing them on the spot, wherever they were found. Of the 180 Jews in the forest, only 18 survived, to find their way in time—maddened and starved and hardly human—to a group of Jewish partisans, survivors of the Warsaw ghetto revolt.

And among these few, Judah Klein the wigmaker, on his way to Malachi Wald—and vengeance. . . .

Questions for Discussion

1. What is almost comical about the attempted suicide of Judah Klein?
2. How were the prisoners able to make and collect weapons for the revolt?
3. How many prisoners survived the Treblinka revolt? How would you react to those that would call the Treblinka revolt an act of suicide?
4. Were Farfi's prejudices against Jews used as a means of contributing to the revolt? In what way?

The Indifferent Ones

Many German citizens, when asked why they did not rise up against the Nazi government's anti-Jewish policies, claimed that they did not know what was happening. Some explained that they were not interested in politics, or that they trusted their government to do the right thing. Others claimed that their first responsibility was to their families. This indifference to the political affairs of their country was a major reason for the lack of widespread resistance to the Nazi government.

In the first reading, Ellen Switzer interviews people who lived in Nazi Germany. The interviews reveal some of the reasons people have given for their "inactive" roles in the political life of their country. A comparison is made with attitudes of Americans during the 1960s.

The second reading is from Elie Wiesel's *The Town Beyond the Wall*. The author fictionalizes an encounter between a Holocaust victim and a spectator who watches as Jews were taken from their homes. Wiesel challenges us to consider the responsibility of the onlooker for human events. He asks whether the most inhuman position of all might be that of the uninvolved spectator. For a society like our own, so used to *watching* television, *watching* sports, and *watching* people, the reading raises profound questions about the quality of our own lives.

In Germany

Ellen Switzer

"Why do people like you keep asking us what we thought and felt about the Nazis?" asked a handsome blonde woman in a Berlin suburb in 1973. "I was fourteen when Hitler came to power, and I couldn't have cared less. I was never interested in politics . . . all politicians are crooks, yours as well as ours. What does politics have to do with me? I'm a zoologist, and frankly, animals have always interested me more than human beings. I felt that way when I was an adolescent, and I feel that way now."

She also insisted that she did not join the Hitler Youth "because that kind of thing just didn't appeal to me," and that she spent most of her youth in the country, reading, playing the violin and bird watching. "What did you do about the war in Vietnam? You may not have liked all those stories about children being burned by napalm or My Lai, or the bombing of hospitals, but you didn't do much about that, right? And I bet you didn't stay awake nights worrying about the war, did you? Of course, your press informed you a lot better than ours did, and you wouldn't be shot for protesting. But how many Americans really cared about Vietnam or Watergate, or whatever it was you did to blacks and American Indians, for that matter? Very few of you, I bet. You worry about the price of food and getting ahead in your profession, and you probably have some kind of hobby. My hobby is music, not politics. I don't think very many people would list 'honest government' as their prime interest. . . . No, I don't feel guilty about what happened in Germany under Hitler. Why should I? Do you feel guilty about Vietnam?"

I told her that I did. She looked surprised. "You must be the guilty type. Have you thought of seeing a psychiatrist? But then, I don't really believe in psychiatrists either. Most of them are crooks, too."

Hilda said all this in a completely detached, unemotional voice. She told of her childhood and youth, completely divorced from what was going on around her, living in the country and "minding my own business." She had, of course, heard some bombs exploding in the distance; but because of her family's wealth and connections, she lived on an estate so far removed from a major city that not one bomb or shell fell near it. "When the Americans 'liberated' us, they took over our house," she said resentfully. "I told them I didn't believe in killing . . I wouldn't even step on an ant, so why bother me about something that a bunch of crazy men did, even if it was in my name. I've never voted in an election and I never will. All governments are alike, and I couldn't care less who runs the country as long as I'm left alone."

Hilda's story about not being a member of the Hitler Youth did not check out. She had indeed been a member, but a very inactive one. It would have been impossible for her not to join. If she wished to go to school, membership was almost surely mandatory in her town. But friends remember that she missed most meetings because she was "sick" or because "she couldn't get transportation into the town." "Perhaps she really didn't know or care," one neighbor said. "Unless the whole miserable situation was forced on you, you really often tried to avoid coming to grips with it."

Hilda's mother, an elderly, highly educated widow, presents a different picture. Her best friend had been a Jewish woman, whose first husband, a Socialist, was arrested early in 1936. He died in prison four days later. She remembers going into town to try to console her friend. "Obviously, I was taking a risk going to see her under the circumstances, but we had been close for so long. . ." she said. She also smuggled fresh vegetables, sausages and loaves of bread from their estate to her friend when rations for Jews had reached the starvation level. "Sometime, in 1940, my friend fell in love and married again. Of course, I couldn't go to the wedding . . . that would have been too dangerous, but I prayed that she'd manage somehow to be happy. Her second husband was taken to a concentration camp six months later. She never heard from him again. She hanged herself in 1941. . ." The older woman's eyes filled with tears. Had she never discussed any of this with her daughter?" "One doesn't want to worry one's children, does one?" she said. "Hilda was so absorbed in her bird watching and her music . . . there was no point in telling her all these sad things. Youth is supposed to be a happy time. . ." It seemed useless to point out that by 1941 Hilda really wasn't that young anymore.

In a small villa outside of Berlin, lives a German composer whose hit songs were popular not only in Germany, but all over the world. A dapper little man in a red smoking jacket with a white silk scarf, he said that, of course he "regrets" Germany's past. "But I was an artist, so politics really wasn't my field," he pointed out. "I knew that Hitler liked my music. I had written a children's opera, and he even suggested to Dr. Goebbels the Minister of Propaganda, that he take his *own* children to see it. Not only that, when young men were drafted into the army, I got a draft exemption because Hitler considered me a fellow artist and felt that my musical compositions would inspire the German nation. Naturally, I was proud of this distinction. Everyone wants to be appreciated, don't they?"

He said that he had remained a civilian, writing songs for "practically every German army unit." "What was expected of me was a lot of trash, of course, but then popular taste isn't what one would like it to be," he added. "The words of the songs were full of hate and referred frequently to enemy blood streaming in rivers down gutters, and enemy cities being bombed into rubble. I thought some of that was really in exceedingly bad taste . . . much overdone. But I didn't write the words, only the music. They had all kinds of official poets in charge of words. That was not my responsibility. As a matter of fact, Dr. Goebbels, himself, wrote the words to one of my melodies." That fact still seemed to fill him with a certain amount of pride. Had he ever been a Nazi? "Well, of course, everybody had to join the party and the party Musicians Association. But I never took any of that very seriously. After all, I'm an artist, not a politician . . ." he repeated.

The same point was made by an outstanding German film producer who was in her late teens and early twenties during the last years of the Weimar Republic and the early Hitler years. "I just pointed my camera and filmed," she said. "I did the best job possible. Many of my techniques are still being copied by people in my field today. Yes, I made propaganda films for the Nazis. That was the only work I could get . . . and work was more important to me than anything else." . . . she finds it difficult to understand and accept the fact that many theaters throughout the world won't show her current work, that she has not been employed by either German or U.S. television. . . . "Why do people have to mix art and politics?" she asks rather angrily. "I never did . . ."

A common thread runs through all the interviews with Germans who insist that they didn't know what was happening in their country during the early, or even the late, Hitler years. Most consider politics something that should concern politicians, and possibly government professors, but certainly not themselves. "What can a little man do anyhow?" "After all, I was an artist, a zoologist, a postman, a baker . . . I didn't have any influence. . ." "I never got involved in anything that didn't concern me . . . politics didn't. I took care of my family, isn't that everybody's first responsibility?" "I did what I was told, and didn't ask questions. I thought that the people running the government knew more about their business than I did. Good citizens obey their leaders. I still feel that way. Look at what all those rowdy, rude demonstrators accomplish today. Nothing, except give their country a bad name." . . . Hilda was right, in a way. There are similar quotes on tapes made for other stories about the war in Vietnam, My Lai, police brutality and corruption, Watergate. Only those tapes were recorded in towns and cities in the United States.

In Hungary

Elie Wiesel

I stopped in front of the house. The window was bright. The doorway was in the courtyard. I meditated for an instant: was this really an act of free will? I breathed deeply and pushed at the door without bothering to knock. . . .

There he was.

Seated at a table, leaning on his elbows, his face in profile, he was reading a book. I'd have known him among a thousand. A heavy round head, completely bald. He hadn't changed. But now he was wearing glasses. A symbol of anonymity, the average man. I watched him in silence. A fly skipped along his skull: he didn't take notice. I stared at him without hate, without scorn. All I felt toward him was curiosity.

He sensed a presence suddenly. His eyes shifted toward the door; he saw me and started. "What do you want?"

On his feet, leaning against the table, he faced me. The features I had seen at the window. Large cold eyes, opaque as the ice that covered the river. A startling absence of eyebrows. Receding chin. Innocence itself: what does not exist is by definition innocent.

"I'm thirsty," my little sister said.

"Who are you?"

I did not answer. . . .

"What do you want?" he said firmly.

"To humiliate you," I said.

"I'm thirsty," my little sister said.

She had the most beautiful hair in the world. The sun loved to carouse in it. But on that spring day—a Saturday—she wore a scarf on her head, as if she were old and a widow. She was eight years old. *"I'm so thirsty," she said.* I couldn't bring her water. The police were guarding the gates of the courtyard. We were forbidden to go out. And this man stood at the window and watched.

"I've come a long way," I said. "I've come to humiliate you."

I wanted to see him on his knees, licking the dust on my shoes. To make him taste the loneliness of cowards. To reduce him to shreds. To deprive him of any picture of himself, to decompose his identity, to scourge pride and self-esteem and countenance from him as one drives children away from a rotting cadaver.

"I'm thirsty," I told him. "Give me some wine."

He lumbered around the table, opened a cabinet, and brought out a bottle of Tokay and two glasses like inverted cones. He set them calmly on the table. I told him to fill the glasses. He did so. The bottle did not tremble in his hand. I took my glass in my right hand. He made as if to do the same. I stopped him. He nodded "All right," and waited. We stared at each other silently. Each gauged the other's strength. He sustained my glare. My fingers curled around the glass with near shattering force. I wanted to shout, "Lower your eyes, you scum! Crawl!" My expression shouted it. He did not give way. His opaque eyes reflected an inner winter, sheathed in ice, impenetrable, stiff. The silence grew heavier. The man betrayed not the slightest sign of weakness. He saw in me an enemy, in this confrontation a duel. Then, in a motion quite abrupt though carefully premeditated, I dashed the wine in his face, which remained impassive. I took the second glass and held it up for him to see: he did not look at it. His eyes never left mine. "Lower them! To the dust!" He received the contents of the second glass with the same calm.

"Fill them," I ordered him.

Without a word he did so again, but his face darkened. When they were full to the brim he pushed the glasses toward me, placing them within my reach.

"Let's talk," I said.

"About what?"

"A Saturday in spring. Nineteen forty-four. On one side, the Jews; on the other, you. Only the window—that window—between."

"I remember."

"With shame?"

"No."

"With remorse?"

"No."

"With sadness?"

"No. With nothing at all. There's no emotion attached to the memory."

I leaned forward slightly: "What did you feel then?"

"Nothing."

The muscles in my face tightened: "Outside, children were sick with thirst: what did you feel?"

"Nothing."

"Outside, men were turning away so as not to see their children doubled up in pain: what did you feel?"

"Nothing." A silence; then: "Absolutely nothing. My wife was crying in the kitchen. Not me. She was sad and miserable. I wasn't." Another silence; then: "No, I tell you. I had a shocked feeling that I was a spectator at some sort of game—a game I didn't understand: a game you had all begun playing, you on one side, the Germans and the police on the other. I had nothing to do with it." . . .

"I felt no sadness," the man went on. "I remember: the day after you left, I was walking around in the half-empty city. All your things were strewn in the streets as if the earth had spewed them up. Here and there people were singing and dancing, dead drunk. I didn't touch a thing. It was like being onstage an hour after the end of the show."

The blood beat in my temples. Remorse, shame, anger ebbed and flowed in me. Now I hated him. After all, I was not the defendant here. Even if he was right—and my heart said he was—that didn't justify his spectator's detachment. He too could have interrupted the game. If he had simply gone down to the courtyard of the synagogue and alerted the Jews: "Good people! Listen to me! Don't be fooled! Be careful! It's not a game!" He hadn't done it.

"Coward!" I shouted, and crashed my fist down on the table. "You're a shameful coward! You haven't got the courage to do either good or evil! The role of spectator suited you to perfection. They killed? You had nothing to do with it. They looted the houses like vultures? You had nothing to do with it. Children were thirsty? You had nothing to do with it. Your conscience is clear. 'Not guilty, your honor!' You're a disgusting coward! You hedge: you want to be on the winning side no matter what! It's easy to say 'I am I and they are they and to hell with them'!

"You hate me, don't you?"

I turned. His voice had suddenly taken on a human tone. A certain intensity showed in his face.

"No," I said. "I don't hate you." A pause; then: "I feel contempt for you. That's worse. The man who inspires hatred is still human; but not the man who inspires contempt. You don't feel contempt for the executioner; you hate him, and you want him dead. You feel contempt only for cowards. People like you retreat to an ivory tower and say to themselves, 'All the world's a stage and all the men and women merely players. Ah, how pleasant when they make us shiver!' Hatred implies humanity: it has its coordinates, its motifs, its themes, its harmonics. Under certain conditions it can elevate men. But contempt has only one implication: decadence."

He paled perceptibly. His eyes were little more than slits. He stood erect, a hand on his stomach, as though he were sick.

"You won't do it," he said. "You won't humiliate me. You're playing a game, and I won't go along. I refuse to play." He peered at me, and the cold glance grew harder, sharp as a sword: "You accuse me of cowardice. And you? What were you? A few policemen—not more than ten—led you all to the slaughterhouse: why didn't you seize their arms? Can you tell me why?"

"We didn't know," I said tightly. "We didn't know what was ahead of us."

"That's not true! There were some among you who knew, some who tried to warn you; you didn't listen. Why? Why? Can you tell me why you didn't listen?"

"What they were saying sounded too fantastic; nobody could really put much stock in it."

"You were afraid, you preferred the illusion to the bite of conscience, and the game to a show of courage!"

I contained my anger with difficulty. *You were thirsty, little sister.* And he dared to judge you, he, the spectator. This man is accusing you of cowardice. My impulse was to charge him, to blind him, to kill him. A man like that had no right to live and to judge the dead.

"You're right; or rather you may be right. We too could have behaved differently. But you forget that we were victims: they had taken from us not only the right to live—and to drink when we were thirsty—but also any right to clarity. That doesn't apply to you: you weren't a victim. Your duty was clear: you had to choose. To fight us or to help. In the first case I would have hated you; in the second, loved. You never left your window: I have only contempt for you." . . .

He wanted to say something, but I silenced him with a glance. I told him to join me at the window. He did so. We turned our backs to the room and looked out at the courtyard of the synagogue. It must have been close to midnight. The dead would never again come to pray.

"You won't humiliate me," he said.

I ignored his remark and said, "Do you remember the synagogue? Do you think it's destroyed forever? Wrong. It exists. A synagogue is like the Temple in Jerusalem. The wise men of Israel say that there is one on high and a second here below. The one here below can be reduced to ashes; it's been done twice. But the temple on high remains intact; its enemies cannot touch it. And this synagogue, too, exists. Only it's been transplanted. Every time you raise your eyes you'll see it. And you'll see it so often, so clearly, that you'll pray God to blind you."

"You won't humiliate me," he said.

I ignored him again; I went on, "You think you're living in peace and security, but in reality you're not living at all. People of your kind scuttle along the margins of existence. Far from men, from their struggles, which you no doubt consider stupid and senseless. You tell yourself that it's the only way to survive, to keep your head above water. You're afraid of drowning, so you never embark. You huddle on the beach, at the edge of the sea you fear so much, even to its spray. Let the ships sail without you! Whatever their flag—Communist, Nazi, Tartar, what difference does it make? You tell yourself, 'To link my life to other men's would be to diminish it, to set limits; so why do it?' You cling to your life. It's precious to you. You won't offer it to history or to country or to God. If living in peace means evolving in nothingness, you accept the nothingness. The Jews in the courtyard of the synagogue? Nothing. The shrieks of women gone mad in the cattle cars? Nothing. The silence of thirsty children? Nothing. All that's a game, you tell yourself. A movie! Fiction: seen and forgotten. I tell you, you're a machine for the fabrication of nothingness."

"I will not let myself be humiliated," he said.

And this time too I ignored him and said, "The dead Jews, the women gone mad, the mute children—I'm their messenger. And I tell you they haven't forgotten you. Someday they'll come marching, trampling you, spitting in your face. And at their shouts of contempt you'll pray God to deafen you."

"I will not let myself be humiliated," the man said.

This time I answered: "Be quiet."

Suddenly I had no further desire to speak or listen. I was weary, as after a battle fought without conviction. I had come, I had seen, I had delivered the message: the wheel had come full circle. The act was consummated. Now I shall go. I shall return to the life they call normal. The past will have been exorcised. I'll live, I'll work, I'll love. I'll take a wife, I'll father a son, I'll fight to protect his future, his future happiness. The task is accomplished. No more concealed wrath, no more disguises. No more double life, lived on two levels. Now I am whole.

"Do you really feel contempt for me?"

I didn't answer. I'd talked enough. Everything had been said. I'll leave Szerencsevàros, the city of luck. I'll never come back.

"Come," I said.

We left the window. There was something bizarre about the two glasses of wine on the table.

"Let's drink," I said.

I took a glass and pushed the other across to him. He picked it up hesitantly, not knowing if I would insult him again. The lines around his mouth now revealed bitterness and bewilderment.

"Let's drink to the actors," I said. "To the actors destroyed in their own play."

We clinked glasses, and drained them.

"You don't hate me," he said.

"I told you. I don't hate you."

"But you must!" he cried hopelessly.

"I don't hate you," I said.

"I couldn't bear that! Your contempt would burn at my eyes; they'd never close again! You've got to hate me!"

"No," I said.

He stared at me for a moment and I thought he was going to cry. If he had, I'd have thrown my arms around him. For the first time that night his face had quivered. The veins in his temples were swollen. He ran his tongue around his lips as if to absorb the last drops of wine. Then he smiled a curious, ironic smile, the meaning of which I understood only later.

"I feel sure you'll hate me," he said.

Now his suffering was obvious, as though an unseen hand had engraved it on his skin. He had become human again. Down deep, I thought, man is not only an executioner, not only a victim, not only a spectator: he is all three at once.

It was time to go. I said "Adieu" and without waiting for an answer turned and left, shrugging. The street was empty, asleep. I headed for Dr. Todor's house to see my father's friend. I intended to spend two days there, until the rendezvous.

But no man shouts his scorn and disgust at another with impunity. At the corner of the street running into the main square a car braked sharply at the curb; in the wink of an eye the door opened and two arms flashed out like lightning to drag me inside. In the front seat sat the spectator. I had barely left his house when he was off to warn the policeman on the corner. Our eyes met in the mirror: his were full of defiance, an anticipation of victory, saying, "Now you'll *have* to hate me!"

Questions for Discussion

1. Comment on the statement by Elie Wiesel, "If someone suffers and he keeps silent, it can be a good silence. If someone suffers and I keep silent, then it's a destructive silence."
2. How do you react to Hilda's statement, "I don't feel guilty about what happened in Germany under Hitler"? Is she correct in assuming that Americans reacted in a similar way during the Vietnam War and "Watergate"? Explain. Do you feel she was guilty?
3. Can citizens be free from guilt when their government's actions violate human rights? If so, under what circumstances? How does this apply to Hilda and to the people in the United States?
4. Why did Hilda's mother decide not to tell Hilda about what happened to a Jewish friend and her family? Do you believe Hilda should have been told? Why?
5. To what degree do the music composer and film producer bear any responsibility for what happened in Nazi Germany? How did they attempt to justify their actions? What do you think you would do in a similar situation? Why?
6. Why, according to Wiesel, is the spectator worse than the murderer? Do you agree?
7. Do you feel that every person in this country has an obligation to be politically involved? What would you say to someone who charged that a person who is not involved in political issues is responsible for the decline of that society?
8. In "The Hangman," a well-known film about indifference to a common threat, the hangman states, "First the alien, then the Jew, I did no more than you let me do." What does this mean?

Anna's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

Not all Germans supported the Nazi program. Some actively opposed it. Others were silent in their opposition. Some were put to the test.

Anna is a German citizen who lives with her husband, Wilhelm, and their three small children in a comfortable home in Munich, Germany. Munich in 1938 is a center of Nazi activity in Germany. Anna's husband is a high-ranking civil service employee and a member of the Nazi party. Wilhelm's high-paying job was a reward for his loyalty to the party. Although Anna leads a comfortable life and is happily married, she disagrees with the Nazi philosophy and her husband's party activities. She especially deplores the anti-Jewish laws and decrees that Hitler's government has imposed.

During her childhood Anna's family developed deep friendships with a number of Jewish families in their town, and Anna learned to respect their cultural and religious differences. By 1938, the Nuremberg Laws are in effect and *Kristalinacht* ("Night of Broken Glass") has recently occurred. Jews in Germany have systematically been stripped of their political, economic, and social rights. Some Jews are attempting to leave the country to avoid what they consider to be eventual catastrophe.

One night, a friend of Anna's approaches her and explains that he is secretly hiding Jews in Munich until he can find transportation for them to leave Germany. This is risky business because it is considered a racial crime against the *Volk*, German people. Anna's friend asks her to help him by hiding two members of a Jewish family who are wanted by the Nazis. He explains that because of Wilhelm's position, nobody would suspect Anna. Also, Anna's property includes a rarely used guest house located in a wooded corner. Anna is offered about 500 dollars for her cooperation.

Anna is aware that, if caught, she and her family could face serious consequences. Also, she could jeopardize her husband's good job and her family's security. On the other hand, she realizes that what the Nazis are doing to the Jews, with widespread public support, is morally wrong. She has long believed that those who remain silent when human rights are being violated are also guilty. Anna's friend tells her that he will come back the next morning for her decision.

Questions for Discussion

1. What values come into conflict in this story?
2. What is Anna's responsibility to her husband? Children? The Jews? The government? The law? Which is greatest? Explain.
3. Should Anna agree to hide Jews?
4. How frequently do you think this kind of situation occurred? Why?
5. Who should be held more responsible, a person with high ideals who, on practical grounds, accepts the Nazi policies toward the Jews; or the person with no ideals who believes in being practical all the time and accepts Nazi policies toward the Jews? Explain.
6. Evaluate the following statement: "All that is necessary for evil to win out over good is for good men to do nothing." How does this relate to Anna's dilemma?

The Chemist's Decision

What Would You Do?

Every decision has consequences. Some consequences are inevitable. Often we must choose between two less than desirable options.

Ludwig Steiner is a chemist for a company that manufacturers various chemical compounds for domestic and industrial use in Germany during World War II. Word has leaked out in the plant that one of the company's products, Zyklon B, an insecticide, is being shipped to the "death camps" to kill people. Steiner is 50 years old, married, and the father of three children, all of whom are under 20 years old. He is his family's sole source of support. Steiner has been an employee of this company for twenty years, is a respected chemist, and is well liked by his fellow employees.

Steiner is opposed to the use of Zyklon B to kill people. Yet he realizes the consequences to himself and his family if he protests or refuses to work on this chemical.

Questions for Discussion

1. What should Steiner do? Are there options other than refusing or protesting?
2. What is the extent of Steiner's responsibility for what was happening in the "death camps"? What was the responsibility of others who worked in German factories that manufactured materials used in the "death camps"?
3. What was Steiner's responsibility to his family? Government? Camp victims? His own conscience? Which responsibility was greatest? Why?
4. Would it make a difference if he was the only one in the factory who refused to work on the chemical?

Teachers and Students

It would be a grave mistake to believe that all non-Jews in Europe aided the Nazi effort, or that they did nothing. There were brave, heroic people who resisted Nazi policies even in the face of great risk. It took strong moral values and great courage to become involved in resistance activities.

We live in a time when students and teachers often see themselves as basically powerless. During the Holocaust, both students and teachers could easily have kept their eyes closed. Yet, in these stories by Bea Stadtler and Ellen Switzer about Joop Westerwill and Hans and Sophie Scholl, we have clear examples of students and teachers who could not remain silent.

Joop Westerwill

Bea Stadtler

The Dutch people have a deep-rooted sense of moral justice and desire for freedom, and to Joop these values meant more than life itself. He was a teacher at Werkplats, a progressive school in Rotterdam, Holland. When Germany invaded Holland and took over the government, Joop was approached by some young Jews to help hide and assist in the escape of Jewish children. "My friends," he said, "I have been expecting this call for a long time. I have been waiting and hoping for it. In my work with the children at school, I felt I had reached a dead end. When one tries to teach in the face of this humiliation to humanity, it is impossible. I cannot teach children even the simplest things." . . . .

As a young man, he was inducted into the Dutch army, but since he opposed war and became the first conscientious objector in the Dutch forces, he was expelled from Indonesia where he had been forced to serve. He also refused to pay certain taxes because they were being used for military purposes and had many clashes with the authorities because of his devotion to peace.

When the Nazis took over the Netherlands, Joop decided he would do everything he could to help the Jews. He rented apartments in his own name and allowed Jewish families to live in them. At times, he had three apartments in his name, filled with Jews trying to escape deportation. . . .

Joop and his Jewish friends from *Aliyat Ha-Noar* (Youth Aliya) went back and forth from Holland and France into Spain. . . .

For twenty months, Joop managed to involve dozens of Dutch families in the lifesaving task. . . . Weeks went by when he slept only two hours a night, and by day continued his work as principal of the school. Each time he escorted a group of children to the border, the tired man with the shaggy hair would have a bright smile, a good word for them, and then would turn and go back—alone.

On March 11, 1944, Joop was captured by the Nazis while trying to smuggle two girls into France. Taken to jail, he was constantly beaten and tortured, but would give no information. To those outside, he wrote notes urging care for the hidden children. And when he was in solitary confinement, he taught songs and gave lectures to the others in near-by cells.

His friends tried to get his release and then to arrange for his escape. In August 1944, he was shot by the Nazis. His last note said, "If we do not meet again, I hope that what we did together will remain a sacred memory for life. God bless you."

The White Rose

Ellen Switzer

Hans and Sophie Scholl were proud, beautiful and idealistic in 1933. When Hitler came to power, Hans was fifteen, Sophie twelve. In describing their life and death, their sister, Inge, in her book *The White Rose* tells of their first reaction when it was announced in the newspapers and on the radio that Hitler had become chancellor.

"For the first time politics entered our lives," she wrote. "We had heard a great deal about our country, about comradeship, love of our fellow citizens and patriotism. We were very impressed . . . because we loved our country very much . . .

"And everywhere, all the time, we heard that Hitler would help our country regain greatness, happiness, pride and prosperity. He would assure everyone of work and food. He would not rest until every single German was a more independent, happier and freer person. We found this a marvelous prospect, and, of course, anything we could do to advance this goal we would do gladly.

"To all of this idealism was added another dimension that attracted us because it seemed almost mystical. We saw the compact, marching units of young people, flags flying, with their bands and their songs. It seemed overwhelming to us . . . this sudden sense of unity and comradeship. So to us it was only natural to join the Hitler Youth, Hans, Sophie . . . all the rest of us.

"We were devoted body and soul to the cause, and we couldn't understand why our father was neither proud nor happy about our decision. He tried to oppose what we wanted to do. Sometimes he said: 'Don't believe them . . . they are wolves and tyrants . . . they are misusing you and the German people.' Occasionally he would compare Hitler to the Pied Piper of Hamelin, the ratcatcher who seduced the children into following him to their doom with the gay tunes of his flute. But our father's words might as well have been spoken into the winds, and his attempts to restrain us were shattered by our youthful enthusiasm."

However, the Scholls, unlike others, had open minds and strong consciences. Their enthusiasm lasted only a few months. . . . Hans was a talented guitar player and folk singer. He had gathered songs from many countries, and he used to sing around the campfires. Soon he was informed that these foreign songs were outlawed: only the songs in the official Hitler song book were acceptable. When he laughed at that seemingly irrational order, he was threatened with punishment. He stopped singing. A book of poems he loved also went on the forbidden list. It was written by a Jew. Another book was banned: the author was a pacificist. Both writers had been forced to flee Germany.

Once the youngest member of his Hitler Youth troop designed and made a flag that in the boy's opinion symbolized all that was great about their country. The troop leader said that the flag would have to be destroyed, only official symbols were allowed. When the youngster refused to give up his prized creation, the troop leader first denounced him furiously, then grabbed the flag and ripped it up. Hans stepped out of his place in the troop and slapped the leader. The tearful face of the young boy whose creation had been dishonored was too much for him to bear. After that, Hans lost his own leadership position in the troop.

Other, more serious incidents came to the

Scholls' attention. A favorite teacher disappeared mysteriously. The day before his disappearance, he had been ordered to stand in front of a group of Brownshirts, each of whom, slowly and deliberately, spat in his face. The Scholls asked the teacher's mother what her son had done to deserve such treatment. "Nothing," the desperate woman answered them. "He just wasn't a National Socialist (Nazi). *That* was his crime."

Rumors about concentration camps began to circulate in the small town of Forchtenberg, of which Herr Scholl, years before, had been mayor. Because the children suspected that he knew more than many others, and because they also felt that he would have the courage to tell them what he knew, they began to ask questions. "This is a kind of war . . ." he told them. "War during peace . . . a battle against our fellow citizens, against the helpless . . . and against the life and freedom of all our children. It is a terrible crime."

. . . At first, Hans and Sophie, and their brothers and sisters, withdrew quietly from their Hitler Youth activities. They spent more and more time within the family, which according to Inge Scholl became a "tight little island." Eventually, they found friends who were as disillusioned as they were, and who also yearned to read the books that were forbidden, to sing the songs that were not approved, to think the thoughts that were not in the official publications. Often they got together to discuss their feelings and ideas. Everyone realized that this was dangerous. Some of their friends were arrested and jailed, usually because someone reported their independent activities. Certainly the local Nazi spies who operated in every village and in every city block must have been suspicious of the group of young people that kept to itself and did not participate in any of the political rallies and meetings that were being called constantly.

But everything went rather well for members of the immediate family, at least. Hans wanted to go to medical school and was accepted at the University of Munich, one of the finest in Germany. Sophie first decided to become a kindergarten teacher and spent two years training for that profession. Then, with the start of World War II, everything changed. Hans and one of his brothers were called into the army, although Hans was eventually sent back to the university to continue his studies. Germany needed physicians. Sophie was called into the State Labor Service and then into the Auxiliary Military Service. But she, too, was released and followed her brother to the University of Munich, where she studied biology and philosophy. Hans saw, during his medical school rounds, wounded soldiers who told in whispers of the massacres of Poles, Russians and Jews. Among the physicians there were rumors that orders had gone out in some hospitals to kill the retarded, the mentally ill, and the handicapped Germans who were not "productive."

Again, the Scholls collected around them a small group of friends. Again, they began to discuss their ideas and feelings. As they became more and more appalled at what was happening around them, they formed a small resistance group called "The White Rose," composed of students and a few teachers to protest their government's actions. They began to publish leaflets, which they printed on an old mimeograph machine, "to strive for the renewal of the mortally wounded Germany spirit." Sophie transported the leaflets in an old suitcase, and they were sometimes distributed in corridors at the University of Munich; sometimes they were scattered out of windows. Copies of the White Rose publications found their way to other universities. Each leaflet urged the finder to reprint the message and to pass it on.

Almost miraculously "The White Rose" continued to operate for about a year. However, on February 18, 1943, the inevitable happened. Sophie Scholl and her brother Hans were arrested at the university with a suitcase full of pamphlets. They were sentenced to death by a special, so-called people's court four days later. . . . The sentences were carried out within hours of the verdict. . . .

After their deaths, the Scholls became underground heroes to a great many university students who shared their ideas, but not their willingness to lose their lives.

In an interview a few months ago a high German government official, whose father had been a more cautious member of the German underground and who had thus escaped with his life, said: "When my father heard that the Scholls had been arrested, he mourned: 'If only they had asked me . . . I would have told them to stop their wild and useless rebellion, which ultimately cost them their lives. I would have told them to save themselves for the new Germany that would need people like them desperately, after the war was over.' Now I'm not so sure. We, as Germans, in our overwhelming guilt, need bright, morally untarnished examples like Hans and Sophie Scholl. Their death was a terrible price to pay for the minimum of pride and honor we have left . . . but perhaps it was worth paying."

The terrible price the Scholls and their friends payed for scattering their mimeographed pamphlets out of a university window might not have been necessary, however, if adults in 1933 had been half as wise and as courageous as these young people. It might have been relatively safe (and probably effective) to protest the two-month jail sentence given to the editor of the Essen paper in 1933; it was impossible even to mourn publicly the death of the White Rose members in 1943.

Questions for Discussion

1. What actions did Westerwill take in his early life that prepared him for moral decisions?
2. What did Westerwill mean when he said, "I have been expecting this call for a long time"? Why was he asked to help Jews escape?
3. Why did the Scholls join the Hitler Youth in 1933? What experiences caused them to leave the Hitler Youth?
4. What was the "White Rose"? Do you believe Hans and Sophie's involvement was worthwhile? Explain.
5. Have you ever been involved in resistance for a cause that you believed was just? What were the risks? What happened? How did it make you feel?

Definitions

pacifist—a person who opposes war and violence as ways to solve human problems

Youth Aliya—organization which rescued Jewish children and brought them to Palestine

Goodness Incarnate: The People of Le Chambon

Terrence De Pres

We live in an age of declining faith in human nature. Daily newspaper accounts deepen this lack of faith. A shallow evaluation of the Holocaust has only reinforced this despair. Indeed, the indifference and lack of concern by many people to Nazi actions has been emphasized. It is important to understand that this lack of caring tells only part of the Holocaust story.

Motivated by the desire to go beyond the "depraved" view of people, Philip Hallie's *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed* is the inspiring story of a French Protestant village that decided, as a community, to shelter Jews from the Nazis. The following excerpt from an article by Terrence Des Pres, author of *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camp,* shows that groups of people dedicated to a moral principle are capable of caring for the oppressed.

Ours is an age of aftermath and we live by an infernal logic. We are maimed in spirit by the brutality and suffering we witness, or we close off care and don't give a damn, . . . In his account of how he came to write *Lest Innocent Blood Be Shed,* Philip Hallie . . . expresses our common predicament this way:

> *The pattern of the strong crushing the weak kept repeating itself and repeating itself, so that when I was not bitterly angry, I was bored at the repetition of the patterns of persecution. When I was not desiring to be cruel with the cruel, I was a monster—like, perhaps, many others around me—who could look upon torture and death without a shudder, and who therefore looked upon life without a belief in its preciousness.*

. . . By chance, while looking through documents about the Holocaust, Professor Hallie came across a brief article about "a little village in the mountains of southern France." He began reading with the scholar's expected "objectivity," but the utter simplicity of what he read disarmed him:

> *I saw the two clumsy khaki-colored buses of the Vichy French police pull into the village square. I saw the police captain facing the pastor of the village and warning him that if he did not give up the names of the Jews they had been sheltering in the village he and his fellow pastor, as well as the families who had been caring for the Jews, would be arrested. I saw the pastor refuse to give up those people who had been strangers in his village, even at the risk of his own destruction.*
>
> *Then I saw the only Jew the police could find, sitting in the otherwise empty bus. I saw a thirteen-year-old boy, the son of the pastor, pass a piece of his precious chocolate through the window to the prisoner, while twenty gendarmes who were guarding the lone prisoner watched. And then I saw the villagers passing their little gifts through the window until there were gifts all around him—most of them food in those hungry days during the German occupation of France.*

. . . What kind of community would run such immediate risk? . . . During the entire period of the

Nazi occupation, first under the nervous eye of Vichy, then directly under Gestapo surveillance, the people of Le Chambon—about 700 villagers and 2,000 peasants from outlying farms—had used *themselves* to welcome, hide, and keep from harm more than 2,500 refugees, most of them Jews. Under the leadership of their Protestant pastor, and with financial aid from the American Quakers, the members of this community *voted* to make of their homes a "city of refuge." They would open their doors to anyone in need, and would organize their small resources for the express purpose of saving as many Jewish children as possible. They would also work with the *Cimade*, an underground organization run entirely by women, to smuggle Jews across the border into Switzerland.

. . . everything was done quietly, . . . as if nothing were happening. . . . rescue operations were a day-to-day business, crucial decisions were made at the level of the family by ordinary people in their kitchens. Nor was this the saga of a great leader merely, for although André Trocmé was the spiritual center of the village and a very forceful man, his power rested with the villagers, who *permitted* him to carry forward plans for their city of refuge. He was committed to nonviolent resistance; the villagers endorsed his view— . . . If Jews are to be turned in, then no Jews will be turned in. Once these conditions are understood, the thing that makes the story of this village supremely beautiful is simply that it happened. . . . If awareness of history has pushed us to the point of losing faith in ourselves, the case may also be . . . that "redemption lies in remembering." . . . To know that goodness exists, like the myth of the seven just men on whose existence the existence of the human world depends, is more than knowing merely. In times as brazenly brutal as ours, it is among our deepest needs. . . .

Professor Hallie . . . has reminded us . . . that goodness, like other constituents of human character, does not simply exist, it *happens*, stage by stage, decision by decision, and the best way to understand it—and thereby be blessed and inspired to faith and emulation—is to behold it in action. . . .

And so there is André Trocmé, the Huguenot pastor urging his people to be mindful of the crisis upon them, a man of mystical fervor, aggressively loving, almost explosive in his rush to save lives. And there is Magda Trocmé, as commanding as her husband . . . a woman who could never manage to think of herself and her friends as "heroic," but only as human beings doing what, at that time, in that place, needed to be done. André conceived the idea of hiding refugee children in the village, and it was he who went to get help from the Quaker office in Marseilles. But Magda best sums up the spirit of the village itself: "I do not hunt around to find people to help. But I never close my door. . . ." And it was she who said, when the first Jew abruptly appeared at the door timidly hoping for help, "Naturally, come in, and come in."

Around these central figures a small knot of active organizers gathered, those who ran the schools, those who turned *pensions* and boardinghouses into the "funded houses" that received financial support from outside the village and in which large numbers of Jewish children survived the war. . . . Then came the villagers themselves, each with a home into which one or more refugees came, sometimes to stay, sometimes to wait until accommodations could be arranged elsewhere. And surrounding the village, there were the isolated farms where many Jews found safety and work. Connections were maintained with partisan fighters in the area. Someone . . . supplied blank copies of the indispensable identification cards that each refugee needed in order to pass as a villager or at least as not a Jew. And a fast voice . . . would call on the phone to say that a raid was coming, that the Germans were on their way for one of their "sweeps." Goodness would seem to be contagious, for throughout the whole of this operation, even after Le Chambon became known as a "nest of Jews" and the villagers lived in fear of their lives, not one person turned informer.

Individuals got arrested, got killed, but in the main the rescue mission of Le Chambon was successful . . . These people did not simply wake up one day in the middle of the war and decide to start saving Jews. They began at the beginning. When the Germans occupied France the villagers would not salute the Vichy flag. When loyal citizens were commanded to ring the bells of their churches to celebrate official events, no bells rang in Le Chambon. And at a time when to preach an ethic of non-violence was forbidden by law and by the Protestant Church itself, Trocmé and his fellow pastor regularly broke this law. . . .

The village was in small but active revolt long before the first Jew arrived, and when that frightened woman knocked on the Trocmés' door when the point of no return came—they were ready to carry out in practice what they had already been doing in spirit.

One of Professor Hallie's most pursued observations has to do with the impact of the Huguenot experience upon the village during the war. We tend to remember the Saint Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572 and forget that for most of their four centuries' residence in France the people of Huguenot faith were harassed, discriminated against, and persecuted constantly, often to the point of extreme bloodshed. To them, the "law of the land" had never been worth respecting, and when the Vichy regime started laying down new laws, this was only one more case of law-as-abuse to which this people, this tradition, would respond as of old—with "the resistance of exile." . . . The example of the Huguenot tradition in Le Chambon leads Professor Hallie to his most valuable insight. He believes . . . that ethical norms tend to arise from, and be clarified by, the experience of victims. Human beings under protracted pressure are best situated to see and feel . . . what hurts life and damages the spirit. And out of this negative moment a positive morality is born. . . . We need only consider that although the ethic of Classical Greece, based on the celebration of strength and magnanimity, is extremely appealing, it could not save its own culture and has not entered the heart of Western morality half so much . . . as the combined ethic of the Jews and the early Christians—both of whom were victims. . . . The villagers of Le Chambon knew that to be on the side of the victim is to be on the side of life, which is what morality in practice comes down to. . . . With their Huguenot tradition to guide them, the men and women of Le Chambon were ready in advance to put their beliefs into action. Goodness happens when human beings know ahead of time that one day they will be called upon to act. Our humanity remains tragically tied to the inhumanity we oppose and endure. . . .

Goodness. When was the last time anyone used that word in earnest, without irony, as anything more than a doubtful cliche? . . . We can—with the example of Le Chambon to remind us—begin again to believe that decency is possible.

Questions for Discussion

1. What do you think of Madga Trocmé when she said, "I do *not* hunt around to find people to help, but I never close my door"? How do you react to women so actively involved in the Resistance?
2. We live in a world in which we have been taught to be cautious, to be skeptical even of persons asking for our help. For example, how do you think you might react to a frantic man who pounds on your door in the early evening asking to use the telephone?
3. In what ways did the people of Le Chambon resist the Nazis? When did they start?
4. Why do you think they resisted? Was there anything in their background that made them more apt to disobey orders? Explain.
5. Do you agree with the author that the experience of suffering helps to develop ethical values? How do you react to the author's belief that the development of principles must precede acts of goodness?
6. Does the story of Le Chambon make you feel any better about people? Explain.

Definitions

Cimade—French underground organization made up of women who helped smuggle Jews into Switzerland.

Huguenots—French Protestants

Saint Bartholomew's Day—date in 1572 when thousands of Huguenots were slaughtered by French Catholics for their religious belief.

A Policeman's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

Jews fared differently in each of the occupied countries. In Poland, the Baltic countries, Germany and Austria, 90% were killed. In Finland and Denmark almost all were saved. In Italy 20% of the Jews were killed and in the Netherlands, 75% were killed. What factors made the difference?

Christian Vander Tozel is a member of the police force in occupied Amsterdam. Christian is a Catholic who attends church regularly. The occupying Nazis make it clear to the Dutch that they intend to be harsh toward Jews and toward all "radicals" who would harbor them or help them in any way. The Nazis intend to elicit the active support of the Dutch police in rounding up the Jews. At the same time, the Catholic Church in Holland, the most outspoken Catholic Church in Europe, denounces the deportations from the pulpit and forbids Catholic policemen from participating in hunts for Jews.

Christian, as a policeman, knows the Germans will expect him to participate in rounding up the Jews. He has been a good family man for twenty-five years and deeply loves his wife. One evening, Christian's squad leader comes to notify Christian that his squad has been ordered to conduct a raid on a house suspected of harboring Jews.

What should Christian do?

Questions for Discussion

1. What alternatives are available to Christian? What are the probable consequences of each alternative?
2. What is Christian's responsibility to his wife? His squad? The Church? Himself? The Jews? The law?
3. What would happen if all Dutch policemen acted in the way you suggested for Christian?
4. Is there any cause in which a person should be willing to risk his or her own safety, security, or even life itself? Explain.

The Church and the Holocaust

Guenter Lewy

Perhaps no religious issue has stirred more controversy than the position of the Vatican, and particularly that of Pope Pius XII, during the Holocaust. Rolf Hochhuth's controversial play *"The Deputy"* portrayed the Pope as indifferent to Jewish suffering. According to Hochhuth, the Pope feared that open opposition to Nazi genocide would imperil the Church. Most important, Hitler's war against Bolshevik Russia could not be jeopardized by a verbal attack against the Nazis. For the Catholic Church, said Hochhuth, the defeat of the Communists was more important than the fate of the Jews. The debate about the actions of Pope Pius XII continues today.

And what about "the people," asks Harry Cargas in *A Christian Response to the Holocaust,* who devised the policies that Christians and others carried out? Adolf Hitler was a baptized Catholic who claimed to be doing God's work in killing Jews. Paul Joseph Goebbels, propaganda expert, came from a strict Catholic family and had his education, in part, funded by the Albertus Magnus Society. Auschwitz's Commandant Rudolf Hoess said he took his Catholic religion "very seriously." Heinrich Himmler, the ruthless head of the SS, was from a devout Catholic family. Reinhard Heydrich, who led the Reich Security Service, was Catholic. It has not gone unremarked that Hitler's heir apparent, Hermann Goering, was given the full funeral rights of the Lutheran Church.

Of course, that discussion should not blind us to the reality of outspoken men such as Father Bernhard Lichtenberg and women such as Edith Stein (the nun sent to the death camps because she was of Jewish origin) who did stand up against Nazi brutality. Andreas Szeptyck, the Archbishop of Lwow, and the titular head of the Ukranian Greek Catholic Church in Galicia, refused to offer religious services to those who participated in the Nazi murder machine. He wrote a letter of protest to Himmler, hid Jewish children and adults in his Church, and warned all individuals of divine punishment for those who shed innocent blood and "make of themselves outcasts of human society by disregarding the sanctity of man." Father Daubrauskas concealed Jewish Torah scrolls and denied the confessional to collaborators. Protecting the 200 Jews of Vidulka, the head priest, Father Jonas, cried "If you kill the children, you'll have to kill me first." Thus, there were members of the church who acted as heroic Christians. Tragically, too many members of the church hierarchy collaborated or remained silent.

In the following selection, Guenter Lewy briefly describes the response of the Catholic Church to Nazism.

The Weimar Period

From the time the National Socialist movement appeared in the 20's, organized German Catholicism came into repeated conflict with it, but anti-Semitism was not one of the primary bones of contention. On the contrary, many Catholic publicists—like the Franciscan Father, Erhard Schlund—agreed with the Nazis on the importance of fighting "the destructive influence of the Jews in religion, morality, literature and art, and political and social life," and objected only to the extremist tone of the movement. Thus, for example, the

Jesuit Gustav Gundlach, writing in a reference work edited by Bishop Buchberger of Regensburg, argued that a political anti-Semitism, directed against the "exaggerated and harmful influence" of the Jews, was permitted so long as it utilized morally admissable means. And Bishop Buchberger himself, while deploring racialism, concluded that it was "justified self-defense" to ward off the rule of "an overly powerful Jewish capital."

Concentrating her fire upon liberals and free thinkers, many of whom were of Jewish descent, the Church did practically nothing to stem the inroads anti-Semitism was making on German life throughout the period of the Weimar Republic. Though the German bishops during these years spoke up against Hitler's glorification of race and blood, they rarely found anything specific to say about the virulent anti-Semitic propaganda the Nazis were spreading or about the acts of violence against the Jews that were becoming more and more common.

The Pre-War Hitler Years

On April 26, 1933, shortly after coming to power, Hitler had a talk with two dignitaries of the German church, Bishop Berning and Prelate Steinmann. In the course of this talk he reminded his visitors that the Church for 1500 years had regarded the Jews as parasites, had banished them into ghettos, and had forbidden Christians to work for them; he, Hitler said, merely intended to do more effectively what the Church had attempted to accomplish for so long.

The reaction of the two Church dignitaries to Hitler's attempt to identify his brand of anti-Semitism with the age-old anti-Judaism of the Church is not known. What we do know, however, is that from the time Hitler came to power all the German bishops began declaring their appreciation of the important natural values of race and racial purity, and they limited their dissent to insisting that this goal be achieved without resort to immoral means. The article on "Race" in an authoritative handbook on topical religious problems, edited by Archbishop Gröber, expressed this position in the following words:

> Every people bears itself the responsibility for its successful existence, and the intake of entirely foreign blood will always represent a risk for a nationality that has proven its historical worth. Hence, no people may be denied the right to maintain undisturbed their previous racial stock and to enact safeguards for this purpose. The Christian religion merely demands that the means used do not offend against the moral law and natural justice. . . .

Close to half the population of the Greater German Reich (43.1 per cent in 1939) was Catholic, and even among the SS., despite all pressures to leave the Church, almost a fourth (22.7 per cent on December 31, 1938) belonged to the Catholic faith. Yet while the episcopate had in the past issued orders to deny the sacraments to Catholics who engaged in dueling or agreed to have their bodies cremated, the word that would have forbidden the faithful, on pain of excommunication, to go on participating in the massacre of the Jews was never spoken. And so Catholics went on participating conscientiously, along with other Germans.

There was, however, at least one Catholic churchman in Germany for whom the Christian duty to love one's neighbor amounted to more than a pious formula—the sixty-six-year old Provost Lichtenberg of Berlin, who, right through the stepped-up anti-Semitic agitation, continued to say a daily prayer for the Jews. He was finally arrested on October 23, 1941, a week after the first of the mass deportations of Jews had begun. During questioning by Himmler's henchmen, the Provost asserted that the deportation of the Jews was irreconcilable with the Christian moral law, and asked to be allowed to accompany the deportees as their spiritual adviser. Sentenced to two years imprisonment for abuse of the pulpit, Lichtenberg was seized by the Gestapo upon his release in October, 1943, and shipped off to the concentration camp at Dachau. He died during the transport on November 5, 1943.

The passivity of the German episcopate in the face of the Jewish tragedy stands in marked contrast to the conduct of the French, Belgian, and Dutch bishops. In Holland, where the Church as early as 1934 had prohibited the participation of Catholics in the Dutch Nazi movement, the bishops in 1942 immediately and publicly protested the first deportations of Dutch Jews, and in May 1943, they forbade the collaboration of Catholic policemen in the hunting down of Jews even at the cost of losing their jobs. In Belgium members of the episcopate actively supported the rescue efforts of their clergy, who hid many hundreds of Jewish children. And in France, the highest dignitaries of the Church repeatedly used their pulpits to denounce the deportations and to condemn the barbarous treatment of the Jews.

Throughout Western Europe untold numbers of priests and members of the monastic clergy organized the rescue of Jews, hid them in monasteries, parish houses, and private homes. Many lay Catholics in France, Holland, and Belgium acted in a similar fashion, thus saving thousands of Jewish lives. . . . [In] Germany only a handful of Jews was hidden by the clergy or otherwise helped by them in their hour of distress. . . .

There were, then, exceptions, but the overall picture was one of indifference and apathy. "Among the Christians," a group of German Protestant and Catholic theologians concluded in 1950, "a few courageously helped the persecuted; but the large majority failed disgracefully in the face of this unheard-of provocation of the merciful God."

The Role of the Papacy

In April 1933 a communication reached Pope Pius XI from Germany expressing grave concern over the Nazis' anti-Semitic aims and requesting the Supreme Pontiff to issue an encylical on the Jewish question. The letter was written by the philosopher Dr. Edith Stein, a Jewish convert to Catholicism and later known as Sister Teresia Benedicta a Cruce of the Order of the Carmelites. Edith Stein's request was not granted and nine years later, in August 1942, she was seized by the Gestapo from a Dutch monastery in which she had sought refuge, and sent to Auschwitz to be gassed. The debate over whether the Papacy could have prevented or should at least have vigorously protested the massacre of the Jews of Europe, of which Edith Stein was one of the victims, has been going on ever since and has acquired new vigor as a result of the Hochhuth play.

In response to Hitler's anti-Semitic drive, Pius XII's predecessor, Pius XI, like the German episcopate, seems to have limited his concern to Catholic non-Aryans. At the request of Cardinal Bertram, the Papal Secretary of State in September 1933 put in "a word on behalf of those German Catholics" who were of Jewish descent and for this reason suffering "social and economic difficulties." In the years that followed the Holy See often took issue with the Nazis' glorification of race, but the Jewish question specifically was never discussed. . . .

Pius XI's encyclical "*Mit brennender Sorge*" of March 1937 rejected the myths of race and blood as contrary to revealed Christian truth but it neither mentioned nor criticized anti-Semitism *per se*. . . .

The elevation of Cardinal Pacelli to the Papacy in the spring of 1939 brought to the chair of St. Peter a man who, in contrast to his predecessor, was unemotional and dispassionate, as well as a master of the language of diplomatic ambiguity. . . .

That the Holy See had no intrinsic objection to a policy of subjecting the Jews to discriminatory legislation again became clear when in June 1941 Marshal Pétain's Vichy government introduced a series of "Jewish statutes." The Cardinals and Archbishops of France made known their strong disapproval of these measures, but Léon Bérard, the Vichy ambassador at the Holy See, was able to report to Pétain after lengthy consultations with high Church officials that the Vatican did not consider such laws in conflict with Catholic teaching. . . .

Meanwhile, there was growing criticism of the Pope's failure to protest publicly against Nazi atrocities, and especially against the murder of the Jews in the Polish death factories. In July 1942, Harold H. Tittmann, the assistant to Roosevelt's personal representative at the Holy See, Myron C. Taylor, pointed out to the Vatican that its silence was "endangering its moral prestige and is undermining faith both in the Church and in the Holy Father himself." In September 1942, Tittmann formally requested that the Pope condemn the "incredible horrors" perpetrated by the Nazis.

After the Western Allies in December 1942 had vigorously denounced the cold-blooded extermination of the Jews, Tittmann again asked the Papal Secretary of State whether the Holy See could not issue a similar pronouncement. Maglione answered that the Holy See, in line with its policy of neutrality, could not protest particular atrocities and had to limit itself to condemning immoral actions in general. He assured Tittmann that everything possible was being done behind the scenes to help the Jews.

Two days later, in the course of a lengthy Christmas message broadcast by the Vatican radio, Pope Pius made another of his many calls for a more humane conduct of hostilities. Humanity, the Pope declared, owed the resolution to build a better world to "the hundreds of thousands who without personal guilt, sometimes for no other reason but on account of their nationality or descent, were doomed to death or exposed to a progressive deterioration of their condition. . . .

Every public statement had had to be carefully weighed "in the interest of those suffering so that their situation would not inadvertently be made still more difficult and unbearable." Unfortunately, Pius XII added, the Church's pleas for compassion and for the observance of the elementary norms of humanity had encountered doors "which no key was able to open."

The precise nature of these interventions has not been revealed to this day. . . .

The Pope's policy of neutrality encountered its most crucial test when the Nazis began rounding up the 8,000 Jews of Rome in the fall of 1943. Prior to the start of the arrests, the Jewish community was told by the Nazis that unless it raised 50 kilograms of gold (the equivalent of $56,000) within 36 hours, 300 hostages would be taken. When it turned out that the Jews themselves could only raise 35 kgs., the Chief Rabbi, Israel Zolli, asked for and received a loan from the Vatican treasury to cover the balance. The Pope approved this transaction. But the big question in everyone's mind was how the Supreme Pontiff would react when the deportation of the Jews from the Eternal City began. . . .

On October 18, over one thousand Roman Jews—more than two-thirds of them women and children—were shipped off to the killing center of Auschwitz. Fourteen men and one woman returned alive. About 7,000 Roman Jews—that is, seven out of eight—were able to elude their hunters by going into hiding. More than 4,000, with the knowledge and approval of the Pope, found refuge in the numerous monasteries and houses of religious orders in Rome, and a few dozen were sheltered in the Vatican itself. The rest were hidden by their Italian neighbors, among whom the anti-Jewish policy of the Fascists had never been popular. But for the Germans, overwhelmingly relieved at having averted a public protest by the Pope, the fact that a few thousand Jews had escaped the net was of minor significance. . . .

Since the end of World War II, Pius XII has often been criticized for his silence. It has been argued that the Pope could have saved numerous lives, if indeed he could not have halted the machinery of destruction altogether, had he chosen to take a public stand, and had he confronted the Germans with the threat of an interdict or with the excommunication of Hitler, Goebbels, and other leading Nazis belonging to the Catholic faith. As examples of the effectiveness of public protests, it is possible to cite the resolute reaction of the German episcopate to the euthanasia program. Also, in Slovakia, Hungary, and Rumania, the forceful intervention of Papal nuncios, who threatened the Quisling governments with public condemnation by the Pope, was able, albeit temporarily, to stop the deportations. At the very least, it has been suggested, a public denunciation of the mass murders by Pius XII, broadcast widely over the Vatican radio, would have revealed to Jews and Christians alike what deportation to the East actually meant. The Pope would have been believed, whereas the broadcasts of the Allies were often shrugged off as war propaganda. Many of the deportees who accepted the assurances of the Germans that they were merely being resettled, might thus have been warned and given an impetus to escape; many more Christians might have helped and sheltered Jews, and many more lives might have been saved.

There exists, of course, no way of definitely proving or disproving these arguments. Whether a papal decree of excommunication against Hitler would have dissuaded the Führer from carrying out his plan to destroy the Jews is very doubtful, and revocation of the Concordat by the Holy See would have bothered Hitler still less. However, a flaming protest against the massacre of the Jews coupled with an imposition of the interdict upon all of Germany or the excommunication of all Catholics in any way involved with the apparatus of the "Final Solution" would have been a more formidable and effective weapon. Yet this was precisely the kind of action which the Pope could take without risking the allegiance of the German Catholics. Given the indifference of the German population toward the fate of the Jews and the highly ambivalent attitude of the German hierarchy toward Nazi anti-Semitism, a forceful stand by the Supreme Pontiff on the Jewish question might well have led to a large-scale desertion from the Church.

When . . . asked whether he would not protest the extermination of the Jews, the Pope is reported to have answered, "Dear friend, do not forget that millions of Catholics serve in the German armies. Shall I bring them into conflicts of conscience?" The Pope knew that the German Catholics were not prepared to suffer martyrdom for their Church; still less were they willing to incur the wrath of their Nazi rulers for the sake of the Jews, whom their own bishops for years had castigated as a harmful influence in German life. In the final analysis, then, "the Vatican's silence only reflected the deep feeling of the Catholic masses of Europe."

Some Catholic writers have suggested that a public protest by the Pope would not only have been unsuccessful in helping the Jews but might have caused additional damage—to the Jews, to the *Mischlinge*, to the Church, to the territorial integrity of the Vatican, and to Catholics in all of Nazi-occupied Europe. So far as the Jews are concerned, it is tempting to dismiss this argument by asking what worse fate could possibly have befallen them than the one that actually did. But in any case, the Catholic bishops of Holland tried the gamble and failed. In July 1942, together with the Protestant Churches, they sent a telegram of protest against the deportation of the Dutch Jews to the German *Reichskommissar* (commissioner) and threatened to make their protest public unless the deportations were halted. The Germans responded by offering to exempt from deportation non-Aryans converted to Christianity before 1941 if the churches agreed to remain silent. The Dutch Reformed Church accepted the bargain, but the Catholic Archbishop of Utrecht refused and issued a pastoral letter in which he denounced the wrong done to the Jews. The Germans retaliated by seizing and deporting all the Catholic non-Aryans they could find, among them Edith Stein. There was thus some basis for the fear that a public protest, along with any good that could come of it, might make some things worse, if not for the Jews, at least for the *Mischlinge* and the Catholics themselves.

The Pope had other perhaps still weightier, reasons for remaining silent. . . . The Holy See did not want to jeopardize its neutrality by condemning German atrocities, and the Pope was unwilling to risk later charges of having been partial and contributing to a German defeat. Moreover, the Vatican did not wish to undermine and weaken

Germany's struggle against Russia. In the late summer of 1943, the Papal Secretary of State declared that the fate of Europe depended upon a German victory on the Eastern front; and Father Robert Leiber, one of Pius XII's secretaries, recalls that the late Pope had always looked upon Russian Bolshevism as more dangerous than German National Socialism.

Finally, one is inclined to conclude that the Pope and his advisors—influenced by the long tradition of moderate anti-Semitism so widely accepted in Vatican circles—did not view the plight of the Jews with a real sense of urgency and moral outrage. For this assertion no documentation is possible, but it is a conclusion difficult to avoid. Pius XII broke his policy of strict neutrality during World War II to express concern over the German violation of the neutrality of Holland, Belgium, and Luxemburg in May 1940. When some German Catholics criticized him for this action, the Pope wrote the German bishops that neutrality was not synonymous "with indifference and apathy where moral and humane considerations demanded a candid word." All things told, did not the murder of several million Jews demand a similarly "candid word"?

Questions for Discussion

1. "The sincere Christian knows that what died in Auschwitz was not the Jewish people but Christianity." What does this remark by Elie Wiesel mean?
2. Respond to this statement: "If Jesus had been alive in Europe in the 1940s, he would have died in a gas chamber."
3. What percentage of the German population was Catholic?
4. Why is Pope Pius XII criticized by some historians? What options were available to him? How have some defended him?
5. What should be the role of the Vatican when faced with experiences such as the Holocaust?
6. What did Protestant church groups and theologians do? Did they protest and fight Nazi policies regarding the Jews? Did they accept Nazi policies? Did they remain silent?
7. What examples does the author provide of Catholics who resisted the Nazis?

Definition

Mischlinge—child of mixed (Jewish-Christian) parentage

The Case of Franz Jagerstatter

What Would You Do?

"There is no 'hiding' the fact that is is much harder to be a Christian today than it was in the first centuries, and there is every reason to predict that it will be even more difficult in the near future. When it becomes the 'sacred duty' of a man to commit sin, the Christian no longer knows how he should live. There remains nothing else for him to do but bear individual witness—alone. And where such witness is, there is the Kingdom of God." Reinhold Schneider

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Franz Jagerstatter was born on May 30, 1907 in St. Radegund, a small village in Austria. In his youth, Franz was known for being a wild fellow, but in general, his daily life was like that of most Austrian peasants. In 1936, he married a local girl, and they went to Rome on their honeymoon. A Catholic by birth, he experienced a religious reawakening and later served as sexton of his church.

When the Nazis entered Austria in 1938, Jagerstatter was the only man in his village to vote against the Anschluss, the union of Austria with Germany. The Anschluss had been supported by the leaders of the Austrian Catholic Church. When greeted by the usual "Heil Hitler," he would respond with "Pfui Hitler." He refused to contribute to various Nazi-sponsored welfare and patriotic organizations and also refused cash subsidies given by the Nazis to fellow farmers.

In February 1943, he was called to active duty. By this time, he had three young daughters. Since he continued to oppose fighting, he was imprisoned. At one point in his imprisonment, Jagerstatter wrote, "As long as a man has an untroubled conscience and knows that he is not really a criminal, he can live at peace even in prison." At another time he wrote:

> Consider two things: from where, to where
> Then your life will have its true meaning.
>
> Who goes on a journey without a goal
> Will wander till he is tired and poor
> Who lives his life without a goal
> He has matured in vain.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should Jagerstatter have made such a strong stand against the Nazis?
2. Franz Jagerstatter developed a Christian rationale for his actions. For him, the only right action, the only good Christian action of conscience, was to disobey the Nazis. To blindly obey the Nazis was to act *not* as a Christian. How do you react to this?
3. Another view is that Jaggerstatter should have realized that he was needed by his wife and three children, and that risking his own life harmed his own family. In this view, more careful action was appropriate to this situation. Some people call this kind of thinking "situation ethics." Does this thinking make sense?
4. Franz Jagerstatter was beheaded by the Nazis in August 1943. His death did not stop the Nazi war machine. Many of his fellow peasants considered his rebellion foolish. Do you feel he should have sacrificed his life? Do you consider him a model for future behavior?
5. How should the Church regard him?

The Ordeal of Dietrich Bonhoeffer

What Would You Do?

The rise of the Nazis created major disagreement among Protestant churchmen in Germany. Led by Army Chaplain Ludwig Muller, the German Christian Church supported the Nazi government and its racial policy. Claiming some 70 percent of Protestants in Germany, this Church supported the 1933 Aryan Clauses that forbade anyone of Jewish origin or married to a Jew from holding state office. All pastors were required by the German Christian Church to take an oath of loyalty to Hitler. The other major Protestant group in Germany was known as the Confessing Church. They believed religion should not support political parties. Among its leaders were the theologians Karl Barth and Martin Niemoller and a young man named Dietrich Bonhoeffer.

Bonhoeffer was the son of a famous German psychiatrist who grew up within a circle of well-known German intellectuals. As a child, Bonhoeffer became interested in religion. After World War I, he studied theology and received his doctorate at the age of 21. He was particularly interested in Christian ethics and the question of what it means to be a good Christian. Influenced by the philosophy of Martin Luther, Bonhoeffer believed that the Church should not act against the state, no matter what the state's offenses. But Bonhoeffer believed that Hitler and the Nazis were violating God's laws.

In 1934, Dietrich Bonhoeffer and other members of the Confessing Church met at Barmen and produced an attack on the Nazi dictatorship. The Barmen Declaration also attacked Hitler's loyalty oaths. But little was said about what was happening to Germany's Jews under Hitler.

In coming years, Bonhoeffer's philosophy of non-involvement changed. Bonhoeffer became involved in plotting the overthrow of Hitler. He participated in secret negotiations with the Allies to establish an anti-Nazi government in Germany. But when these efforts failed, Bonhoeffer came to believe that Hitler was the Anti-Christ and that it was his Christian duty to help eliminate him.

Arrested by the Gestapo in 1943, Bonhoeffer was imprisoned. His writings indicated how far he had come from his early reliance on Luther and the pacifism of Mahatma Gandhi. In prison, he wrote: "[We] must take our share of responsibility for the molding of history in every situation and at every moment; whether we are the victors or the vanquished. . . . We have been silent witnesses of evil deeds. . . . What we shall need are not geniuses, or cynics, or misanthropes, or clever tacticians, but plain honest, straightforward men."

Questions for Discussion

1. Would the assassination of Hitler have been ethically justified? Should a Protestant theologian involve himself in a potential act of violence?
2. Bonhoeffer and the Confessing Church have been viewed as examples of the weak nature of church response to the persecution of Jews. For example, Bonhoeffer, when addressing the issue of the Aryan Clauses, stated, "Without doubt the Jewish question is one of the historical problems which our state must deal with, and without doubt the state is justified in adopting new methods. . . . The Church of Christ has never lost sight of the thought that the 'chosen people' who nailed the redeemer of the world to a cross must bear the curse for its action through a long history of suffering." How do you explain these words in the light of Bonhoeher's response to Hitler and Nazism?
3. Comment on the following Declaration of Guilt signed by Pastor Niemoller at the Council of the Evangelical Church in Germany, October, 1945.
   "In Germany the Nazis first came for the Communists and I did not speak up, because I was not a Communist. Then they came for the Jews and I did not speak up because I was not a Jew. Then they came for the trade unionists and I did not speak up because I was not a trade unionist. Then they came for the Catholics and I was a Protestant so I did not speak up. Then they came for me. By that time there was no one to speak up for anyone."

The Fate of the Hungarian Jews

By the spring of 1944, the Nazis had already killed 5 million Jews in Europe. Until then, Hungary had been able to prevent the deportation of its more than 700,000 Jews to concentration camps. But in April, thousands of Jews began leaving the railyards of Budapest, the capital city, bound for Auschwitz.

By mid-1942, all the Allied governments were well aware of what was happening in the death camps. Members of the underground had helped to smuggle the information out of Europe. There was no longer any illusion about German aims.

In 1943, the Allied governments held discussions about what to do. A variety of ransom plans to "buy" Jews had been offered and none taken very seriously. At the summer Bermuda Conference attended by the Allied governments, the Jewish issue was reviewed without any final decisions. In frustration at the indecision of the conference, George Backer, active in working with refugees, said, "if 100,000 Germans would offer to surrender, we could find some way to get them out." Indeed, thousands of POW's had already been brought into the United States. An old rabbi commenting further on the inactivity of the Allied powers implored, "If 6,000,000 cattle had been slaughtered, there would have been more interest. A way would have been found. These are people . . . people."

Several months later, Samuel Zygelbojm, a member of the Jewish Labor Bund who was smuggled out of the Warsaw Ghetto to London, committed suicide in protest against the indifference of the Allied powers.

In this light, the Hungarian situation was charged with new tension for the Allies. A variety of emergency measures were proposed as ways of preventing the reality of certain death for the Hungarian Jews.

There was a plea that rail lines leading to Auschwitz be bombed. This, advocates argued, would effectively eliminate the transport routes essential to the death camp process. The American Fifteenth Air Force was stationed in Italy and was bombing synthetic oil works less then 5 miles from the gas chambers. The camps were also well in range of Russian dive bombers.

Both the U.S. War and State Departments were unwilling to take the bombing proposal seriously. Secretary of War John McCloy argued that such attempts would divert essential war material from the more important war effort and would needlessly risk American lives. Furthermore, such bombing would only result in worse conditions for Jews. The best way to save the Jews of Europe, McCloy argued, was to win the war quickly.

Another example of the extraordinary nature of the proposals to save Hungarian Jews was the 1944 Brand Mission. Joel Brand, a member of the Hungarian Zionist underground, was approached by Adolf Eichmann and offered a "deal." The German government would trade one million Hungarian Jews for 10,000 trucks. Eichmann promised that these trucks would be used only on the Eastern front against the Russians. Brand was told to meet with Jewish representatives in other nations who could help to convince the Allies to make the deal. Brand's mission was received with great doubt. Many wondered if the Nazis would really release any Jews and asked how the Allies could possibly offer trucks that would be used against them in the war. To some, the idea was a devious Nazi plan to drive a wedge between the Allies. To the British, the possible reality of taking in all those Jews seemed impossible. Perhaps the most extreme example of this view was offered by a British Foreign officer, "In my opinion, a disproportionate amount of time . . . is wasted in dealing with these wailing Jews."

Meanwhile, the Swedish government sent a young diplomat, Raoul Wallenberg, to be Secretary of its Legation in Budapest. Wallenberg immediately began to establish ways of saving individual Jews. Over 15,000 Jews were soon provided with Swedish protective passports that prevented their deportation. Hundreds were provided with food. Others were taken off trains marked for the death camps and provided with passports. When the decision was made to eliminate the last 70,000 Jews of Budapest, Wallenberg told the German commander that he would hang when the Russians came. The German decision was halted. Wallenberg's efforts also encouraged similar actions to save Jews among the Swiss delegation and the International Red Cross. (Wallenberg himself was taken away by the Russians and "disappeared.")

On July 2, 1944, Budapest was bombed by Allied planes. Fearing further heavy raids, on July 7, Admiral Horthy, the leader of the fascist Arrow Cross, halted further deportation of Jews. Yet over 450,000 Hungarian Jews had been murdered in three months.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should the Allied countries have used their planes to bomb the rail lines leading to the death camps? What is your view of McCloy's argument?
2. During the war, the civilian German targets of Dresden and Hamburg were firebombed by the Allies to supposedly quicken an end to the war. Compare this decision with the choice not to bomb rail lines.
3. Should the Allied governments have taken seriously any ransom plan, including the Brand Mission, offered by the Germans?
4. Ironically another German ransom plan was negotiated with Saly Mayer, a representative of a Swiss Jewish agency. Jews were offered for the sum total of 3 million Swiss francs. In 1944, over 1,500 Orthodox Jews, many from Bergen-Belsen, were actually transported safely by the Germans to Basel, Switzerland. How do you explain this?
5. The Zygelbojm suicide has begun to receive more attention with further Holocaust study. What do you think Zygelbojm had come to believe about the world in which he lived?
6. A Roper poll taken in December 1944 revealed that the majority of Americans could not believe that millions of Jews had perished in the Nazi onslaught. One hundred thousand was considered a large figure for the number of Jews killed in Europe. What does this tell us about people and about how the Holocaust has altered our perspective about the "quality of death"?
7. In January, 1944, writer Arthur Koestler wrote, "A dog run over by a car upsets our emotional balance and digestion. Three million Jews killed in Poland causes but a moderate uneasiness. . . . We are unable to embrace the total process with our awareness." Comment.
8. When do you think Americans knew about what was happening in the death camps? Do research on how much coverage of these events existed in newspapers and magazines (both non-church and church related) during the war. What might have hampered Americans from believing such reports?

Lillian Hellman's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

Most people are not heros, but many perform heroic acts. What causes them to behave that way? Anger? love? fear? bravery? compassion? guilt?

Lillian Hellman is a famous American playwright. As a young girl, she was the friend of a girl named Julia. While Lillian was struggling as a young writer, Julia studied psychiatry in Vienna, Austria during the period before the Anschluss in 1938. Julia was seriously hurt in a violent battle with pro-Nazis in which she lost a leg. Despite her handicap, however, she became a committed anti-Nazi underground activist.

After years of not having seen her friend, Lillian received a letter asking her to visit Julia in Germany. Germany was now under Nazi control. Friends of Julia contacted Lillian Hellman and asked her to become involved in a secret plan. They wanted to smuggle hundreds of thousands of dollars into Germany to buy arms and to maintain a secret group in opposition to the Nazis. Lillian would travel in a train carrying a hat box which contained the money. She would deliver that box. If she was caught smuggling while traveling through Nazi Germany, she would be arrested and imprisoned or even killed.

Lillian was aware that there were enormous risks in what Julia was asking of her. After years of struggle, and with the help of her friend Dashiell Hammett, Lillian had become a literary success with a recent play. A rich, culturally stimulating life awaited her. What Julia asked could risk all of that and much more.

Questions for Discussion

1. What should Lillian do?
2. Are there ever times when a person should risk future success for an idea or a cause?

American Corporations and the Nazis

Bradford Snell

Today, many large American companies are known as "multinational" corporations because they conduct their business in many countries. They not only sell their products in many countries but they also build their factories and employ people there. In their quest for profits, some corporations have acted in ways that have contributed to injustice and inhumane treatment of people. Some American oil companies, for example, have been accused of conspiring with oil-producing countries to control the supplies of crude oil to the United States. This control of supply caused shortages of oil products and higher prices for consumers.

Multinational corporations are not new. During World War II, a number of American corporations operated their businesses in Germany out of a desire for increased profit. The following reading is based upon a 1974 report by Bradford Snell to the Senate Subcommittee on Monopoly and Antitrust where he was assistant counsel. Snell used declassified (once top secret) military and other government sources to demonstrate the involvement of America's giant automobile companies in Nazi Germany. The article raises some important moral questions relating to the conflict between profit and human life.

As owners of facilities in more than 45 different countries, General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler can no longer properly be perceived as American corporations. Rather, they comprise supranational and sovereign economic states, which acknowledge loyalty to no particular country. The automakers readily concede this change in corporate outlook. Henry Ford, II, chairman of the Ford Motor Co., for example, has stated: "We don't think of ourselves as a national company anymore. We are definitely a multinational organization. . . ." Likewise, GM's Chairman Sloan reportedly told a group of stockholders on the eve of Germany's invasion of Poland in 1939 that his corporation was "too big" to be affected by "petty international squabbles."

Upon first examination, this posture would appear to be in the best of interests of international peace. The movement abroad by powerful firms which already dominate vital industrial sectors at home, however, can produce the opposite result. At a minimum, it presents the dilemma of conflicting loyalties, which can become particularly acute during periods of international conflict.

The activities of General Motors, Ford, and Chrysler prior to and during World War II, for example, are instructive. At that time, these three firms dominated motor vehicle production in both the United States and Germany. Due to its mass production capabilities, automobile manufacturing is one of the most crucial industries with respect to national defense. As a result, these firms retained the economic and political power to affect the shape of government relations both within and between these nations in a manner which maximized corporate global profits. In short, they were private governments unaccountable to the citizens of any country yet possessing tremendous influence over the course of war and peace in the world. The substantial contribution of these firms to the American war effort in terms of tanks, aircraft components, and other military equipment is widely acknowledged. Less well known are the simultaneous contributions of their foreign subsidiaries to the Axis Powers. In sum, they maximized profits by supplying both sides with material needed to conduct the war.

In Germany, for example, General Motors and Ford became an integral part of the Nazi war efforts. GM's plants in Germany built thousands of bomber and jet fighter propulsion systems for the Luftwaffe at the same time that its American plants produced aircraft engines for the U.S. Army Air Corps.

As owner of Germany's largest automobile factory, General Motors was quite naturally a more important factor in the Axis war effort than either Ford or Chrysler, whose investments were substantially less. GM's participation in Germany's preparation for war began as early as 1935. That year its Opel subsidiary cooperated with the Reich in locating a new heavy truck facility at Brandenburg, which military officials advised would be less vulnerable to enemy air attack. During the succeeding years, GM supplied the Wehrmacht with Opel "Blitz" trucks from the Brandenburg complex. For these and other contributions to wartime preparations, GM's chief executive for overseas operations in 1938 was awarded the Order of the German Eagle (first class) by Adolf Hitler.

Ford was also active in Nazi Germany's prewar preparations. In 1938, for instance, it opened a truck assembly plant in Berlin whose "real purpose," according to U.S. Army Intelligence, was producing "troop transport-type" vehicles for the Wehrmacht. That year Ford's chief executive received the Nazi German Eagle (first class). . . .

The outbreak of war in September 1939 resulted inevitably in the full conversion of GM and Ford of their Axis plants to the production of military aircraft and trucks. During the last quarter of 1939, for instance, GM converted its 432-acre Opel complex in Russelsheim to warplane production. From 1939 through 1945, the GM-owned Russelsheim facility alone assembled 50 percent of all the propulsion systems produced for the JU-88 medium range bomber. According to the authoritative work of Wagner and Nowarra, the JU-88 by 1940 "had become the Luftwaffe's most important bomber, and remained so for the rest of the war." The Russelsheim facility also assembled ten percent of the jet engines for the ME-262, the world's first operational jet fighter. . . . With a top speed of 540 miles per hour, it was more than 100 miles per hour faster than the American P-510 Mustang, the fastest piston-driven Allied fighter. Not until after World War II were the Allies able to develop pure jet aircraft. By producing ME-262 jet engines for the Luftwaffe, therefore GM's Russelsheim plant made a significant contribution to the Axis' technological superiority in the air.

On the ground, GM and Ford subsidiaries built nearly 90 percent of the armored "mule" 3-ton half-tracks and more than 70 percent of the Reich's medium and heavy-duty trucks. These vehicles, according to American intelligence reports, served as "the backbone of the German Army transportation system." In addition, the factories of Ethyl G.m.b.H., a joint venture of I. G. Farben, General Motors and Exxon subsidiaries, provided the mechanized German armies with synthetic tetraethyl fuel. During 1935-36, at the urgent request of Nazi officials who realized that Germany's scarce petroleum reserves would not satisfy war demands, GM and Exxon joined with German chemical interests in the erection of the ethyl tetraethyl plants. According to captured German records, these facilities contributed substantially to the German war effort. . . .

It was, of course, in the best interests of GM and Ford to cooperate in the Axis war effort. Although GM, for example, was in complete management control of its Russelsheim warplane factory for nearly a full year after Germany's declaration of war against the United States on December 11, 1941, its refusal to build warplanes at a time of negligible demand for automobiles would have brought about the economic collapse of its Opel plant. Moreover, it might have resulted in confiscation of the facility by the German Government. In fact, on November 25, 1942, the Reich did appoint an administrator for the Russelsheim plant who, although not permitted to interfere with the authority of the GM-appointed board of directors, was instructed to oversee operations. Nevertheless, communications as well as materiel reportedly continued to flow for the duration of the war between GM and Ford plants in Allied countries and those located in Axis territories.

General Motors had owned 100 percent of Adam Opel A.G. continuously since 1929. . . . Alfred P. Sloan, Jr., Board Chairman of GM-USA and GM vice presidents James D. Mooney, John T. Smith, and Graeme K. Howard served on the GM-Opel Board of Directors throughout the war.

GM continued to operate its Opel plants after the United States had formally declared war on Germany without any apparent interference by the German government up until Nov. 25, 1942. . . . In fact, the only noticeable wartime change in plant operations was the departure of American personnel. The GM-appointed directors and management remained. . . .

Communications as well as materiel continually flowed between GM plants in Allied countries and GM plants in Axis-controlled areas, presumably in direct violation of trading with the enemy legislation. . . .

After the cessation of hostilities, GM and Ford demanded reparations from the U.S. Government for wartime damages sustained by their Axis facilities as a result of Allied bombing. By 1967 GM had collected more than $33 million in reparations and Federal tax benefits for damages to its warplane and motor vehicle properties in formerly Axis territories, including Germany, Austria, Poland, Latvia, and China. Likewise, Ford received a little less than $1 million, primarily as a result of damages sustained by its military truck complex at Cologne.

Due to their multinational dominance of motor vehicle production, GM and Ford became principal suppliers for the forces of fascism as well as for the forces of democracy. It may, of course, be argued that participating in both sides of an international conflict, like the common corporate practice of investing in both political parties before an election, is an appropriate corporate activity. Had the Nazis won, General Motors and Ford would have appeared impeccably Nazi; as Hitler lost, these companies were able to reemerge impeccably American. In either case, the viability of these corporations and the interests of their respective stockholders would have been preserved. On the other hand, the inevitable conflict of loyalties and potential for abuse inherent in such a corporate posture would seem to suggest that in the case of powerful concentrated industries engaged in war-convertible production, multinational expansion may adversely affect America's legitimate interest in national security.

Questions for Discussion

1. Why do you suppose some American companies continued to operate in Germany even after World War II began? How do you feel about this?
2. How do you react to General Motors and Ford being paid 33 million dollars by the United States for damages to their European factories during the war? Were their claims justified? Explain. Why do you suppose they were paid?
3. How do you feel about the argument that corporations acted appropriately when they helped both sides in the war?
4. Could these companies have participated in effective resistance during the war? Did they have a moral responsibility to do so? Explain.

Definitions

Axis Powers—Germany and Italy during World War II
reparations—payments for damaged or lost property or resources due to war

Related Issues of Conscience and Moral Responsibility

This unit relates the ethical issues posed by the Holocaust to modern examples of injustice and oppression. Questions are raised about the appropriate role of the Holocaust in the modern consciousness. Although the Holocaust is unique in history, its lessons must be applicable to our own time. The concept of a "war crime" is explored, specifically in relation to the Nuremburg Trials. One exercise asks the reader to determine who was "responsible" for what happened in the Holocaust. Further articles raise questions about what to do with the few elderly Nazis in our midst as well as how to confront the new American Nazis who desire to express themselves.

Painful questions about our own Vietnam War experience are probed. The American civil rights movement and other social action groups are studied in an attempt to understand the varying strategies for change. The experiences of Maryknolls in El Salvador and Jacobo Timerman in Argentina raise old questions about how we should respond to new oppression. Finally, we are left with the central theme of this book: How does "conscience" determine the way we lead our lives? Can the study of Holocaust and genocide make us more compassionate and less willing to accept oppression? In our post-Holocaust world, the struggle for justice goes on.

Assessing and Defining Responsibility

As best you can, define what the term "responsibility" means to you. Now list ten "responsibilities" you see yourself having.

If you were a judge, how would you assess the "responsibility" of these people for what happened in the world between 1933 and 1945? Indicate one of the following:

1. Not responsible
2. Minimally responsible
3. Responsible
4. Very responsible

What penalty, if any, could you foresee yourself giving to each of them?

_____ 1. Adolf Hitler, Chancellor of Germany

_____ 2. One of Hitler's direct subordinates, such as Heinrich Himmler or Joseph Goebbels

_____ 3. A German who voluntarily joined Hitler's special elite, the SS

_____ 4. A German industrialist who financially supported Hitler's rise to power and continued to support him verbally

_____ 5. A judge who carried out Hitler's decrees for sterilization of the "mentally incompetent" and internment of "traitors"

_____ 6. A doctor who participated in sterilizations of Jews

_____ 7. A worker in a plant producing Zyklon B gas

_____ 8. The Pope who made no public statement against Nazi policy

_____ 9. An industrialist who made enormous profits by producing Zyklon B gas

_____10. A manufacturer who used concentration camp inmates as slave labor in his plants

_____11. American industrialists who helped arm Hitler in the 1930s for their own profit

_____12. A person who voluntarily joined the Nazis in the 1930s

_____13. A person who agreed to publicly take the Civil Servant Loyalty Oath (swearing eternal allegiance to Adolf Hitler in 1934)

_____14. A person who complied with the law excluding Jews from economic and social life

_____15. A person who regularly and enthusiastically attended Hitler rallies

_____16. A person who always respectfully gave the "Heil Hitler" salute

_____17. A person who served as a concentration camp guard

_____18. A person who turned the lever to allow the gas into the chambers

_____19. A driver of the trains that went to the concentration camps

_____20. A diplomat for the Nazi government

_____21. The American Government which limited emigration of Jews to the United States in the 1930s

_____22. The "little guy" who claimed "he doesn't get involved in politics" and thus went about his business as quietly as he could in the Hitler regime

_____23. The soldier who carried out orders to roust Jews from their homes for "evacuation and resettlement"

_____24. The German couple who took up residence in a home evacuated by Jews

_____25. The Christian who took over a store just abandoned by Jews

_____26. The German who refused all pleas to participate in hiding and smuggling of Jews

_____27. The policemen who helped round up escaping Jews

_____28. A teacher who taught Nazi propaganda in the schools

_____29. Children who joined the Hitler Youth

_____30. Parents who sent or allowed their children to attend Hitler Youth meetings

The Nuremberg War Crimes Trial

With the defeat of Germany in 1945, the world saw firsthand photographs of the concentration camps. The Allies made plans to bring to justice the Nazis responsible for what happened during the war.

Millions of Germans and other Europeans were considered eligible for possible prosecution. Of these, only a small number were actually prosecuted, the most famous in the Nuremberg War Crimes Tribunal.

Nineteen major Nazis were brought to trial. The defense questioned the legality of Germans being tried by the Allies. Even today, some people doubt that "war crimes" can be defined in legal terms adequate enough to prosecute people's actions. The Germans responded by arguing that they followed orders of the government and that they could not be tried for breaking laws that did not exist until after the war. The defense charged that Allied airmen were also guilty of war crimes when they bombed German cities to terrorize civilians. Germans spoke of the fire-bombing of Dresden.

Many Germans, according to surveys, regarded the photographs of atrocities in the concentration and death camps with disbelief and without sorrow. This refusal to accept the reality of the death camps continues today with the publication of books such as Arthur Butz's *The Hoax of the Twentieth Century*. Butz denies that the camps served as death factories and that 6 million Jews were killed. He claims that the Holocaust never happened, that it is a Zionist propaganda hoax.

Many Germans could not understand why they were being prosecuted. Consider this exchange between a German prisoner and his Allied captors quoted in *The Jew as Pariah* by Ron H. Feldman:

Q: Did you kill people in the camp?
A: Yes.
Q: Did you poison them with gas?
A: Yes.
Q: Did you bury them alive?
A: It sometimes happened.
Q: Were the victims picked from all over Europe?
A: I suppose so.
Q: Did you personally help kill people?
A: Absolutely not I was only paymaster in the camp.
Q: What did you think of what was going on?
A: It was hard at first but we got used to it.
Q: Did you know the Russians will hang you?
A: (Bursting into tears) Why should they? What have I done?
November 12, 1944

As the trials proceeded, Holocaust victims slowly began to reintegrate their lives. It soon became clear to many survivors that they had lost almost their entire families. Many experienced the normal responses of loss and depression. Many survivors were placed in Displaced Persons (DP) camps while the Allies discussed the issue of where these people were to go. Poland and Germany were no longer nations in which most Jews felt they had any future. Some Jews boarded ships and attempted to run the British blockade of Palestine. Many were caught and sent back to DP camps. But in 1948, the United Nations voted for partition of Palestine, resulting in the creation of the state of Israel. In the ensuing years, many Jews went to Israel; and when immigration barriers were lifted in the early 1950s many Jews came to North and South America, most especially the United States, where survivors of the Holocaust began new lives.

The four counts of the Indictment were (1) Common Plan or Conspiracy; (2) Crimes against Peace; (3) War Crimes; (4) Crimes Against Humanity.

Defendants

Wilhelm Frick: Reich Minister of the Interior and Director of the Central Office for all Occupied Territories: "The whole Indictment rests on the assumption of a fictitious conspiracy."
Guilty 2, 3, 4 Death

Walter Funk: Press Chief, later Minister of Economics: "I have never in my life done anything which could contribute to such an Indictment. If I have been made guilty of the acts which stand in the Indictment, through error or ignorance, then my guilt is a human tragedy, and not a crime."
Guilty 2, 3, 4 Life in prison

Hjalmar Schacht: Reich Minister of Economics and President of the Reichsbank: "I do not understand at all why I have been accused."
Acquitted

Karl Donitz: Commander in Chief of the German Navy: "None of these Indictment counts concerns me in the least—typical American humor."
Guilty 2, 3 10 years

Erich Raeder: Admiral of the German Navy
Guilty 1, 2, 3 Life in prison

Baldur Von Schirach: Reich Governor and Leader of Youth: "The whole misfortune came from racial politics."
Guilty 4 20 years

Fritz Sauckel: Reich Governor and General in the SS: ". . . The terrible happenings in the concentration camps has shaken me deeply."
Guilty 3, 4 Death

Alfred Jodl: Army General and Chief of Staff to General Keitel: "I regret the mixture of justified accusations and political propaganda."
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

Martin Bormann: Chief of Staff to Rudolf Hess and Hitler's secretary. Bormann disappeared and has never been found. He is reputed to be in South America.
Guilty 3, 4 Death (in absentia)

Franz Von Papen: Reich Vice-Chancellor and Ambassador in Vienna and Turkey: "I believe that paganism and years in totalitarianism bear the main guilt."
Acquitted

Arthur Von Seyss-Inquart: Deputy Governor General of occupied Poland and the Netherlands: "Last act of the tragedy of the second World War, I hope!"
Guilty 2, 3, 4 Death

Albert Speer: Reich Minister for Armament and Munitions. "The trial is necessary. There is a common responsibility for such horrible crimes . . . even in an authoritarian system."
Guilty 3, 4 20 years

Konstantin Von Neurath: Foreign Minister before Ribbentrop and Protector of Bohemia and Moravia. "I was always against punishment without the possibility of a defense."
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 15 years

Hans Fritzsche: Director of Propaganda: "It is the most terrible Indictment of all times."
Acquitted

Hermann Goering: Chief of the Air Force, ranked second after Hitler: "The victor will always be the judge, and the vanquished the accused."
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

Rudolf Hess: Reich Minister Without Portfolio, ranked third after Goering: "I can't remember."
Guilty 1, 2 Life in prison

Joachim Von Ribbentrop: Foreign Minister: "The Indictment is directed against the wrong people."
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

Ernst Kaltenbrunner: Head of the Security Police: "I do not feel guilty of any war crimes; I have only done my duty as an intelligence organ."
Guilty 3, 4 Death

Wilhelm Keitel: Army General and Chief of the German High Command: "For a soldier, orders are orders."
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

Alfred Rosenberg: Nazi Party Leader for Ideology and Foreign Policy: "I must reject an Indictment for conspiracy."
Guilty 1, 2, 3, 4 Death

Hans Frank: Reich Minister Without Portfolio: "I regard this trial as a God-willed world court, destined to examine and put an end to the terrible era of suffering under Adolf Hitler."
Guilty 3, 4 Death

Julius Streicher: Editor of *Der Sturmer*, an anti-Jewish newspaper and a favorite of Hitler: "This trial is a triumph of World Jewry."
Guilty 4 Death

Questions for Discussion

1. Robinson Jeffers, the poet, has written:

   > "Justice and mercy are human dreams; they do not concern the birds nor the fish nor eternal God."

   How could justice really be served after the Holocaust?
2. Did the Allied nations have the moral right to bring Nazis to trial after the war?
3. Do you think it was possible for survivors to forget their past and forgive those who committed acts of atrocity against them? Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal wrote a novel called *The Sunflower* in which just such an issue is raised. A 21-year-old soldier lies on his deathbed just after the war. Wiesenthal is called in to hear the soldier's last words, in which he confesses his acts during the war and begs Wiesenthal to forgive him so that he can die in peace. What should Wiesenthal have done?
4. Examine the chart on the preceding pages of those Nazis judged in the most famous of all Nuremberg Trials. On what basis do you think the decisions were reached? Examine the quotations; did any of the Nazi leaders repent? Of all those listed on the chart, Rudolf Hess along remains imprisoned in Spandau Prison in Germany. Some critics argue that Hess, who has served more than thirty years and is now an old man, should be released. Would you agree or disagree?

I Never Loved Eva Braun

Boomtown Rats

In this song, the Boomtown Rats satirize the Germans who denied their involvement with the Nazis. Eva Braun was Adolf Hitler's mistress who committed suicide with him at the end of the war. Here she becomes a symbol of the attraction so many Germans felt toward Nazism.

I never loved Eva Braun (oh no?)
No, a thousand people say I did (oh yeah?)
Yeah, she was just some girl who was on the make
(Yes, we see)

Boy, she wanted to be so big
And in the end it got to be a drag,
She's doing her exercises every day,
No matter what people say,
I never loved Eva Braun

I never heard all the screams (oh no?)
I never saw the blood and dirt and gore (oh yeah?)
That wasn't part of the dream, (yes, we see)
Of maps and generals and uniforms,
I'd always liked the big parade,
I always wanted to be adored,
In '33 I knew I had it made,
I never loved . . .

Eva Braun wasn't history,
She wasn't even part of my destiny
She never really fitted in the scheme of things
She wasn't even part of my destiny
She never really fitted in the scheme of things
She was just a triumph of my will
Oh yeah

I saw the blondies and the blue eyes (oh yeah?)
I saw the millions mouthing me (oh yeah?)
But underneath I was really gentle (oh yeah?)
D'ja ever see me touch a scrap of meat?
Oh yeah I conquered countries
They were weak and I was strong,
A little too ambitious maybe,
But I never loved Eva Braun,
Gee!

Questions for Discussion

1. "Dja ever see me touch a scrap of meat?" refers to the fact that Hitler was a vegetarian. Comment. (Many vegetarians base their refusal to eat meat on humane principles.)
2. What was the dream of Germans who supported the Nazis?
3. What rationale do they give for their involvement?

Holocaust Questions

Yehuda Bauer

There are some people who wish to see the Holocaust as but another example of humanity's historic cruelty, "man's inhumanity to man." They see the Holocaust as no different than any other human event of suffering. And some people feel too much attention has been given to what happened to Jews during the Second World War. Such people feel that other groups were subjected to the same kind of Nazi cruelty and should be "equally recognized."

These arguments are not merely disturbing; they dangerously obscure the reality of what happened during the Holocaust. They also mistakenly set one victim's pain against another. As Professor Yehuda Bauer makes clear in the following essay, the uniqueness of the Holocaust in history and its universal implications for us today are not contradictory. To understand the Holocaust and the role of the Jews in the Holocaust as unique and not simply as another example of "man's inhumanity" does not mean that we cannot apply its lessons to the modern world and to our own lives. At the same time, we must recognize that every example of human suffering demands our attention. The person who calls for the world's attention to Holocaust must also stand against all suffering.

In his recent State of the Union speech, President Jimmy Carter referred to the work of the President's Commission on the Holocaust, which reported its findings in September. A second body is now being set up, with the task of implementing the proposals submitted by the commission and approved by the President. According to Carter, this will involve an "appropriate memorial to the six million Jews and the millions of other victims of Nazism during World War II."

In this most disturbing statement, the Holocaust is redefined to include the sum total of all the atrocities committed by the Nazis during World War II—and there were many.

The Holocaust in this view is no longer a unique historical event, the result of a quasi-religious ideology which saw in the Jewish people a demonic force ruling the world and consequently tried to annihilate it, but a hold-all term for "the inhumanity of man to man," and similar meaningless generalizations. Not only were the six million Jews murdered by their enemies; they now stand in danger of having their unique martyrdom obliterated by their friends.

The trouble is that this is done with the best of intentions by the only country that now stands by the Jewish people on many vital fronts, and by an American President who is the first to have undertaken a number of important steps to memoralize the Holocaust.

The appointment of the commission and the acceptance of its report, as well as the growing recognition of Holocaust Remembrance Day (Nisan 27) by the American public, stand out as symbols of American identification with the Jewish contents of the Holocaust. The total misunderstanding of the event as evidenced by Carter's statement is therefore doubly painful.

The idea of widening the scope of the Holocaust did not originate in Carter's mind. When, on Holocaust Remembrance Day last year he spoke of the 11 million victims of the Holocaust—six million Jews and five million others—he was echoing Nazi hunter Simon Wiesenthal, among others. At that ceremony, candles were lit, one of them by an Armenian representative. Now, apparently, the

Armenian tragedy is out, and all victims of Nazi brutality are in.

Between the spring of 1979 and his State of the Union speech, the five million non-Jewish "victims of the Holocaust" became the "millions of victims of Nazism." The change is cosmetic only; the content remains.

The Nazis did indeed murder millions of non-Jews—considerably more, in fact, than five million. Their policy towards Poles, Czechs, Serbs and others has rightly been called genocide: the planned destruction of a nation's identity, the selective mass murder of its intellectual elite, the destruction of its religious life, its culture and economy and the enslavement of the rest. But there was no plan of total physical annihilation—the Nazis needed the Slav nations to build the Third Reich's *Kultur*.

The Jews were a different matter: they were not considered subhuman Aryans, as were the Poles. They were not human at all. Rather, they were a satanic force that had to be utterly destroyed. Jews had no choice of resistance or submission as others had; they were killed for the crime of having been born. Their destruction was a sacral act.

Even the method of their murder after 1941—gassing—was different: only a few thousand gypsies and a small number of Soviet prisoners of war shared the fate of the millions of Jews. The place of the Jews in the Nazi world was unique, and was related to the unique history of the Jewish people and their historical relationship to the non-Jewish world.

There is no contradiction between this uniqueness and the universal implications of the Holocaust. The Holocaust could be defined as the planned total, physical destruction by modern industrial means of an ethnic or national group. There are near parallels (such as the fate of Armenians and gypsies), and there is a general mass brutalization, now defined as genocide, to which it is related.

The importance of the Holocaust does not lie only in the fact that it could be repeated in one form or another—toward Jews or others—but that it stems from a unique historical relationship of the Jewish people to the peoples of the world. The Holocaust has caused moral questions not only, perhaps not even primarily, for the Jews. It has brought out a major hiatus of moral issues for Christianity and the gentile world in general. Thus, uniqueness and universality are complementary rather than contradictory.

The fact that a U.S. Administration must necessarily be under political pressure from the many groups that make up the American nation who now, paradoxically, appear to envy the Jews "their" Holocaust, is tragic, or infuriating, or just sad. But that cannot be allowed to silence a very loud voice of protest that must, in all friendship and true gratitude for American good will, be raised.

During World War II, the Western powers were careful not to mention the Jews specifically in order not to be accused of singling them out for special favors—while the Nazis singled out the Jews for unique destruction. Carter is in grave danger of unconsciously repeating the procedure.

It is quite enough for the Jewish people to have been destined for obliteration by its enemies—there surely is no need to obliterate the murder of one-third of it by throwing it together with other kinds of evil. One does not have to confuse Holocaust with genocide in order to oppose the latter—or any other evil, for that matter.

Questions for Discussion

1. What does Bauer believe was the difference between the treatment of Jews and other oppressed people in the Holocaust?
2. Should the federal government build a Holocaust memorial in this country? What is the issue that must be faced before such a memorial is built?
3. The late Arthur Morse, author of *While Six Million Died*, said, "It is not necessary that the analogy be perfect for a young person to hurl himself into peaceful combat against what he regards as barbarism. For him that war in Vietnam or that instance of racial injustice is his Holocaust of the moment." Comment.

Definitions

demonic—of or like a demon, an evil spirit.
sacral—of or for religious rites or observances.
hiatus—a break or gap where a part is missing or lost.

Pope John Paul at Auschwitz

Robert Reid

Pope John Paul II grew up in the shadow of the Holocaust. The marks of his own experience led him to visit Auschwitz in June 1979. In *Hasidic Tales of the Holocaust* Yaffa Eliach tells of a young priest who refused to baptize a two-year old Jewish boy hidden by a Christian family—because he knew the child's parents wanted the boy to remain Jewish. That young priest was Father Karol Wojtyla—Pope John Paul II. His journey, reported by Robert Reid of The Associated Press, was symbolic, not only as a recognition of the importance of the Holocaust for Christians but as a commitment of the Church to ease suffering everywhere.

AUSCHWITZ, Poland—Pope John Paul II said Mass yesterday from a simple wooden platform above railway tracks that once carried millions to their deaths in Adolf Hitler's most infamous concentration camp.

Earlier, he prayed in the cell of a Polish priest killed at Auschwitz, calling the extermination complex "a place built on hatred and contempt for man in the name of a crazed ideology."

For the Mass, a crowd of several hundred thousand stood among the remains of brick barracks that once housed inmates of the Birkenau camp, largest in the complex known as Auschwitz.

Four million people, most of them Jews, died in the Auschwitz camps between 1940 and January 1945, when the Germans abandoned the complex to the advancing Soviet army.

Joining the Pope for the Mass were about 200 priests, all former inmates of Auschwitz and other extermination camps. Other survivors stood before the platform, clad in blue-and-white-striped camp uniforms. . . .

As the Pope arrived by helicopter, thousands strained at barbed wire, left standing as a grim reminder of the killings. . . .

After praying in the cell, the Pope changed vestments for the Mass. The small building where 35 years ago the camp staff decided which new inmates would be put to work and which would go to the gas chambers.

He then walked to a white platform near the ruins of the crematoria used to burn the bodies of victims killed in the gas chambers. Red and white carnations covered the old tracks over which trains brought Jews, Gypsies, Slavs and others.

John Paul, who studied for the priesthood in secret while working in a German forced-labor project, singled out the sufferings of Jews, Russians and Poles, who made up most of the victims at Auschwitz.

"The very people that received from God the commandment 'Thou shalt not kill' itself experienced in a special measure what is meant by killing," he said of the Jews. . . .

"Auschwitz is a place everyone should visit," he said. "And during the visit one should ask, 'What are the limits of hatred, what are the limits of destruction of man by man?' "

Question for Discussion

1. Should a Pope raise issues like the Holocaust even if it might stir painful memories of the past?

The Nazi Hunt

As we have seen, some of the Nazis who were captured after World War II were placed on trial for war crimes at Nuremberg. However, many prominent Nazis who participated in the mass murder of Jews and non-Jews have never been brought to justice. Some escaped from Germany after the war, using the wealth they had collected during the war to buy favors and bribe officials. The infamous Dr. Mengele, who made the selection at Auschwitz of those who were to live and die is one among the many Nazis who escaped. Mengele is believed to be alive in a South American country which offered him and other Nazis protection.

While Mengele and others are still free, various organizations and individuals have committed themselves to tracking down every ex-Nazi who has been charged with crimes against humanity. Survivor

Simon Wiesenthal, fictionalized in the movie, "The Boys from Brazil," has dedicated his life to hunting these people. He was involved in locating Adolf Eichmann in Argentina. Eichmann was then captured, taken to Israel in 1960, tried and executed in the most highly publicized case since the war. Hermine Braunsteiner Ryan, a Brooklyn housewife, was sent back to Germany where she was convicted for her actions as a concentration camp guard.

Some Americans have been shocked by reports in recent years that ex-Nazis are living in the United States, enjoying the benefits of American citizenship. They ask, "How can we allow mass murderers to live among us?" Other Americans have reacted with sympathy for these ex-Nazis because of their age and the fact that they have been leading "normal, productive lives." This was the case with Boleslavs Maikovskis, who lives in Mineola, Long Island. He is alleged to have been involved in a unit which slaughtered thousands of Jews in Latvia. The American government has been embarrassed by the publicity associated with this case.

More recently, an ABC-TV program charged that the United States, in the late 1940's and early 1950's, attempted to bring Nazi chemists and scientists to America to work against the Russians in the "Cold War" in what was called "Operation Paperclip."

The articles by Michael Leary and Donald Kimmelman of the *Philadelphia Inquirer* discuss the government's attempt to deal with alleged ex-Nazis who live in the United States today and the reactions of the communities in which they live.

Anonymous and Law Abiding

Michael Leary

It was just a small story inside the morning newspaper on June 17, but for Mike Shohen and his family, the effect was stunning.

According to the federal government, Arnold Richards Trucis, the quiet but amiable white-haired gentleman who for many years has lived next door to the Shohens in their Northeast Philadelphia neighborhood, was once a Nazi collaborator who personally "guarded, beat and otherwise tormented unarmed Jewish civilians."

"We got very upset when we read that, being Jewish ourselves," Shohen said last week. "We don't have any kind of relationship with him. We just smile and say hello, but it's so strange. You don't know how to react to something like this."

The 600 block of Mayfair Street, where Trucis lives, is a monument to middle-class stability, worlds apart from the World War II horrors implied in the government's suit against Trucis. Pleasant lawns and gardens, uniformly well kept, reflect each owner's attempt to put his own stamp on the street of neat but identical two-story brick row-houses.

Trucis, 70, who rents a room in one of the houses, could not be found on two visits. He has no telephone listing and did not respond to a hand-delivered message asking for his side of the story.

His neighbors could contribute little information about a man whom everyone recognized on sight but no one knew. The Shohens remembered his once telling them that he worked for a church, and they knew by the noise through the wall that he was an inveterate typist.

"A couple of weeks ago, it was the prime topic of conversation," said Linda Covone, a housewife who is Trucis' neighbor on the other side. "Everybody was asking, 'Who is he?' "

"I know him to see him on the street. We say, 'How are you?' and 'Nice day' and all of that. He tries to talk to the children sometimes, but they're a little afraid of him. He has an accent.

"Everybody was surprised, particularly his settling right here in what was once an almost exclusively Jewish neighborhood. It was very daring."

When he applied for entry into the United States in 1948 under the Displaced Persons Act, Trucis told authorities that he had spent the early part of World War II as a bookkeeper in Riga, Latvia, and later spent two years as a student at the University of Latvia. Asked which organizations or societies he had belonged to, he listed a Latvian student fraternity.

The government now charges that Trucis was a member of the Auxiliary Police Force of the Latvian Security Service during most of 1941 and 1942, an organization that assisted in persecuting Latvian Jews. From October 1943 to October 1944, according to the government, he held the rank of *hauptscharfuehrer,* or master sergeant, in the German S.S.

The government contends that Trucis would never have been permitted to enter the United States if he had not lied about his wartime activities. The suit asks that he be stripped of his citizenship as a prelude to deportation.

Guilty or not, Trucis' activity in America fits a pattern. Almost to a man, the recently accused war criminals have lived anonymous and law-abiding lives in lower-middle-class urban communities. Their neighbors invariably find it hard to believe they could have once done such ugly things.

"I have seen the Kowalchuks. I have seen Detlavs," Burton Siegel, an official with Philadelphia's Jewish Community Relations Council, said in a recent interview, referring to three other accused war criminals.

"They look like any other elderly men. They could be my grandfather. Presuming that at least some of these people are guilty of horrible crimes, somehow you would expect to detect certain qualities that distinguish them from the rest of us."

Robert Jay Lifton, a professor of psychology at Yale University, reflected in a 1977 article on this disparity between how alleged former Nazis supposedly behaved during the war and how they behave in America today.

"There is something to be learned from the ease with which each man shifts from enthusiastic participation in genocide to proper middle-class life." Lifton wrote. "Their neighbors see, and want to believe in only the latter. They admire these former Nazis for their pleasant manner, friendly greetings to everyone on the block, and promptness in raking leaves and cutting grass. . . . We begin to wonder how many of us really want to know—are capable of believing—what the Nazis actually did."

On Mayfair Street, Mrs. Covone said the neighbors are more concerned these days about the recent rash of burglaries than the wartime activities of old Mr. Trucis. Only the Jewish residents, now a minority, find the matter hard to ignore.

"It's very disturbing," one of Trucis' Jewish neighbors said. "My daughter has been studying the Holocaust in school and we have been talking a lot about it lately. Then to have something like this happen—a man living so close by. You don't know what to say."

From Nazis to Model Americans

Donald Kimmelman

John Demjanjuk is as middle American as you can get—a job in a Ford plant, a typical suburban detached home with front lawn and a late model medium-sized car.

He is also an officer of the Ukrainian Orthodox Church, a man admired for his good works and a good neighbor to those whom he lives quietly amongst.

Yet this is the same man accused of having once been a Nazi, whose horrendous deeds at the notorious Treblinka death camp in Poland earned him the nickname Ivan the Terrible.

His accusers say that as the man in charge of the huge gas chambers there he was responsible for the deaths of no fewer than 900,000 innocent men, women and children.

Demjanjuk, who changed his name from Ivan to John after entering the U.S. in 1952 as a displaced person, is one of 15 alleged war criminals whom the Justice Department is seeking to deport to their native countries for trial.

The U.S. charges against all 15 are that they lied in their applications to enter the country by hiding their association with the German Nazi Party.

But they are only the tip of the iceberg, according to the Justice Department's Office of Special Investigations, a crack task force set up to seek out war criminals hiding under the guise of decent American citizens.

"We are investigating several hundred more alleged Nazis who came here during the late Forties and Fifties," said an OSI spokesman.

But few, if any, of the suspects, who are mainly old men now, are likely to be deported because of the difficulty of pinning them down, the fact witnesses are equally old and the long legal process that can be involved.

"The deportation procedure can drag on for years," the OSI spokesmen said. "First, you have to have them denaturalized, and that's a very serious thing—to take away a person's citizenship.

"And if you win in the lower courts they can appeal right up to the Supreme Court.

"Then, supposing you manage to get them denaturalized, you have to start the whole thing over again to get the deportation order.

"We've got one guy in California we've been trying to deport for 20 years, and he's still sitting there happily in the sun.

"In my opinion, most of these people will die happily in their beds in the good old U.S. of A."

Brett Becker, national director of the American Jewish Defense League, believes there are well over 200 Nazi war criminals in the U.S.

"The difficulty is in pinning them down," he said. "The nice little guy who walks his dog twice a day or the guy in the corner store who gives your kid candies could be guilty of the deaths of thousands of people.

"Who knows who they are or where they are. In a nation composed of so many nationalities they can blend into the background very easily."

When John Demjanjuk came to the U.S. 28 years ago at the age of 39 he told immigration officials he was a displaced person fleeing the communists.

He made his home in Cleveland, Ohio, and because of his engineering background, found little difficulty getting a good job with Ford.

He became a pillar of the community in the suburb of Seven Hills.

Then, in 1977, his quiet existence was shattered. He was served with denaturalization papers on the ground that he had fraudulently entered the U.S. by not admitting to his Nazi Party connections.

When stories about his alleged past appeared in local newspapers he was threatened and harassed, and the American flag was ripped from his mailbox.

He strenuously denied the charges, claiming they were a communist plot, and continued to live in his neat, brick house.

And his neighbors feel he should be allowed to stay there. "What's past is past," said one neighbor. "I don't know what John did in the war. He tells me he was a prisoner of the Germans, and that's good enough for me."

"All I know is he is a good neighbor. He keeps much to himself, and has never done anyone here any harm. His main interest seems to be the church. I know he organizes a lot of functions there.

"Everyone around here feels the same. It wasn't neighborhood people who harassed him."

And a spokesman at the local Ukrainian Orthodox Church said: "Mr. Demjanjuk is still an officer. We believe a man is innocent until proven guilty."

[On June 23, 1981, the Court entered judgment for OSI, revoking defendant's United States citizenship on the grounds that it had been procured both illegally and by willful misrepresentation of material facts. The Court found that defendant, when applying for entry and for naturalization, had failed to disclose his wartime service under the German SS at both the SS Training Camp at Trawniki, Poland and the Treblinka death camp. The Court specifically concluded that the six eyewitness identifications of defendant as a notorious guard who operated the gas chambers at Treblinka were reliable.]

The following are profiles of the other 14 alleged war criminals whom the Justice Department seeks to deport:

BOLESLAVS MAIKOVSKIS, who came from Latvia, is said to have been a member of the SS and a senior Latvian Police Department officer who sent 20,000 Jews to their deaths in Riga, the Latvian capital.

Captured Nazi documents allegedly show he was awarded the Iron Cross.

Maikovskis, 74, now lives in the Long Island, N.Y., township of Mineola, where he is liked by neighbors and attends Mass daily.

His house has been firebombed and two years ago a gunman pumped 10 shots through the front door. One hit him in the right leg.

Maikovskis has appeared in court several times on deportation charges, but each time invoked the Fifth Amendment and remained silent.

VILIS HAZNERS is also 74 and at one time was on the U.S. government payroll preparing broadcasts for Radio Liberty, beamed to Latvian audiences.

Hazners, who came to the U.S. in 1956, now lives on a farm outside Albany, N.Y., with his wife and two sons. But life was not so quiet for him in Riga during the war, say accusers.

He is alleged to have severely beaten Jews and once helped herd 200 into a synagogue before torching it.

FEODORE FEDERENKO, 73 who lives in retirement in heavily Jewish Miami Beach, Fla., is accused of being in the SS stationed at Treblinka.

Federenko, who came to the U.S. in 1949, does not deny being at Treblinka, but says he was employed as a carpenter and was not in the SS.

The most celebrated alleged Nazi war criminal in this country is ARCHBISHOP VALERIAN TRIFA, head of the Romanian Orthodox Church in the U.S. and Canada, despite charges having been made against him in 1975.

The 65-year-old archbishop lives in a 25-room mansion, on a 200-acre estate in Grass Lake, Mich. He is accused of being a leader of the Romanian Iron Guard and organizing a 1941 pogrom against Jews in Bucharest, in which thousands were killed.

Trifa does not deny being in the Iron Guard but says he did not organize, or take part in, the pogrom. [In 1980, Trifa agreed to denaturalization, but fought deportation. In the fall of 1982 the government ordered his deportation. Trifa agreed to leave.]

ANDRIJA ARTUKOVIC, 71, is the man U.S. authorities have been trying to deport for 20 years.

The owner of a successful construction company, he lives in a heavily guarded compound in the Los Angeles suburb of Seal Beach.

When the Nazis seized Yugoslavia in 1941, it was split into two countries and Artukovic was made minister of the interior in one of them, Croatia. In the summer of 1941, 180,000 Jews, gypsies and Serbs were slaughtered. The man responsible for this genocide, it is alleged, was Artukovic.

In 1957 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled he would have to face an extradition trial on 1,239 counts of murder in Croatia. But he still remains in this country after a tangled mass of legal procedures.

FRANK WALUS, 57, works for General Motors and lives in Chicago. He was only a teenager when World War II broke out but, say witnesses, fast became known as the "baby-faced Jew killer."

SERGE and MYKOLA KOWALCHUK, Polish brothers, are tailors in a heavily Jewish area of Philadelphia. Now in their early 60s, they are accused of taking part in the slaughter of 5,000 Jews in their native country.

KARLIS DETLAVS, 70, now lives in retirement in Baltimore. He lost a foot from gangrene two years ago and has difficulty in getting around. Detlavs is accused of selecting Jews for extermination in his native Latvia.

BRONIUS KAMINSKAS, 77, a Lithuanian who came to the U.S. in 1952, lives a lonely life in a rooming house in Hartford, Conn. He is accused of committing atrocities against Jews.

BOHDAN KOZIY, a 58-year-old Pole who runs a hotel in Fort Lauderdale, Fla., is said to have been a police officer and SS collaborator in Poland. It's alleged he took part in beatings and killings of adults and children.

WOLODYMIR OSIDACH, 72, also Polish and living in Philadelphia, is similarly accused.

KARL LINNAS, 68, who lives in Greenlawn, N.Y., entered the U.S. in 1950 and is said to have been a camp guard in German-occupied Estonia, responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Jews.

[The court found that defendant had taken an active part in atrocities committed against men, women, and children at the concentration camp at Tartu, and on January 25, 1982, the Court of Appeals unanimously affirmed the decision of the District Court stripping Karl Linnas of citizenship.]

CHERUM SUZIKOV, 62, is chief purchasing inspector for Passaic County, N.J., and lives in Paterson, N.J. He is accused of being a member of the elite Nazi Waffen SS and of murdering Russian Jews.

Questions for Discussion

1. How do you feel about ex-Nazis being allowed to live in the United States? Explain.
2. Why do you suppose ex-Nazis have been able to move and live in the United States for so many years?
3. Some have argued that World War II was a long time ago. The ex-Nazis are now old and have not caused any trouble in their communities. Why not "let bygones be bygones and let them alone?" How do you feel about this? Explain.

Definitions

extradition—the turning over of an alleged criminal fugitive or prisoner by one country or state to another.

deportation—a legal process by which a country may expel persons considered undesirable—usually sending them back to the country of their origin.

Defense of the Rights of the American Nazi Party: A Lawyer's Dilemma

What Would You Do?

The American Civil Liberties Union is an organization dedicated to defending the constitutional and civil rights of all people. In its history, the ACLU has come to the defense of Black Americans, refugees, Native Americans (Indians), and extremist groups when it believed the rights of these people or groups had been violated. The following is based in part on the actual case that took place in Skokie, Illinois in 1979.

Sara Goldstein is a lawyer who has been employed by the American Civil Liberties Union for ten years.

On May 1, 1970, Sara Goldstein received a call from Elton Smith, head of the state branch of the American Nazi Party. He requested the assistance of the ACLU in overturning a local judge's decision which denied the right of the American Nazi Party to conduct a large rally and march through Sara's hometown, Cliffside. Cliffside is a residential community with a large number of citizens who are survivors of the Nazi Holocaust. The judge, sensitive to the horrible experiences of the survivors at the hands of the Nazis, denied the right to conduct the rally and march. The judge feared the mental anguish that such a situation would create among the survivors. He was also informed that the Jewish Defense League, a militant Jewish young people's organization, was urging members from around the country to appear at the rally to respond to any outbreak of violence. The judge felt that the safety of Cliffside's citizens would be endangered.

The American Nazi leader, Smith, claimed that the judge's ruling was unconstitutional because it denied the right to peaceable assembly, and that the ACLU should offer its assistance as it has done for many other groups who have been denied their rights.

Sara discussed the case with her superiors, and the decision was made by the ACLU to go to court in behalf of the American Nazi Party. Defense of the Nazis did not mean that the ACLU approved of their beliefs or activities. Its concern was limited to the protection of constitutional rights. Sara was the lawyer assigned to the case.

This created a serious problem for Sara. She was the only child of her parents, both of whom were survivors of Auschwitz. Ever since she was a child, Sara's parents had discussed the horrors of that experience. The sight of a Nazi flag had always created feelings of fear and hatred in them, and brought back memories of tragedy. Sara's grandparents were murdered in the gas chambers. How could Sara, a Jewish daughter of survivors, defend a group which preached hatred toward the Jews?

On the other hand, she was deeply committed to the goals of the ACLU. She firmly believed that the civil rights of every individual and group must be protected, regardless of their identities or their beliefs.

Questions for Discussion

1. Should Sara agree to defend the American Nazi Party in this case? What is the best reason to support your choice?
2. What constitutional rights were involved in this case?
3. Would the rally and march violate the rights of the Jewish survivors of Cliffside? Explain
4. Should extremist groups be guaranteed the same rights as everyone else? Why? Why not'

Using the Atomic Bomb

Gar Alperovitz

Some historians argue that one of the most critical events of the twentieth century was the discovery and use of nuclear power. Certainly, the military and domestic use of nuclear power has been the subject of much debate. Most controversial was the decision made by President Harry S. Truman to drop the atomic bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki in 1945.

Truman argued that the decision was both wise and humane. After destroying Hiroshima, an invasion of Japan was no longer necessary and thus saved a million American lives. At that time, many Americans accepted Truman's argument as sound reasoning.

Yet we now know that there was not total agreement among the scientists and generals in Truman's administration. Generals Eisenhower, MacArthur, and LeMay all held serious reservations about the dropping of the bomb. Historians such as Gar Alperovitz argue that the invasion of Japan would not have been necessary because the Japanese were preparing to surrender. Alperovitz states that the decision to drop the bomb was not a military decision but a political one. The United States wished to end the war before the Soviet Union opened a third front in Asia. The dropping of the bomb would also represent a show of military superiority to the whole world, and especially to the Russians.

Although his thesis is highly controversial, Alperovitz' views raise important questions about the political use of deadly technology.

A fruitful way to begin is to note General Eisenhower's recollection of the Potsdam discussion at which Stimson told him the weapon would be used against Japan:

> During his recitation of the relevant facts, I had been conscious of a feeling of depression and so I voiced to him my grave misgivings, first on the basis of my belief that Japan was already defeated and that dropping the bomb was completely unnecessary, and secondly because I thought that our country should avoid shocking world opinion by the use of a weapon whose employment was, I thought, no longer mandatory as a measure to save American lives. It was my belief that Japan was, at that very moment, seeking some way to surrender with a minimum loss of "face."

"It wasn't necessary to hit them with that awful thing," Eisenhower concluded.

Perhaps the most remarkable aspect of the decision to use the atomic bomb is that the President and his senior political advisers do not seem ever to have shared Eisenhower's "grave misgivings." [T]hey simply assumed that they would use the bomb, never really giving serious consideration to not using it. Hence, to state in a precise way the question "Why was the atomic bomb used?" is to ask why senior political officials did not seriously question its use as Eisenhower did.

The first point to note is that the decision to use the weapon did not derive from overriding military considerations. Despite Truman's subsequent statement that the weapon "saved millions of lives," Eisenhower's judgment that it was "completely unnecessary" as a measure to save lives was almost certainly correct. This is not a matter of hindsight; *before the atomic bomb was dropped each of the Joint Chiefs of Staff advised that it was highly likely that Japan could be forced to surrender "unconditionally," without use of the bomb and without an invasion. . . .*

General Marshall's June 18 appraisal was the most cautiously phrased advice offered by any of the Joint Chiefs: "The impact of Russian entry on the already hopeless Japanese may well be the decisive action levering them into capitulation . . ." Admiral Leahy was absolutely certain there was no need for the bombing to obviate the necessity of an invasion. His judgment after the fact was the same as his view before the bombing: "It is my opinion that the use of this barbarous weapon at Hiroshima and Nagasaki was of no material assistance in our war against Japan. The Japanese were already defeated and ready to surrender . . ." Similarly, through most of 1945 Admiral King believed the bomb unnecessary, and Generals Arnold and LeMay defined the official Air Force position in this way: Whether or not the atomic bomb should be dropped was not for the Air Force to decide, but explosion of the bomb was not necessary to win the war or make an invasion unnecessary.

Similar views prevailed in Britain long before the bombs were used. General Ismay recalls that by the time of Potsdam, "For some time past it had been firmly fixed in my mind that the Japanese were tottering." And Churchill, who as early as September 1944, felt that Russian entry was likely to force capitulation, has written: "It would be a mistake to suppose that the fate of Japan was settled by the atomic bomb. Her defeat was certain before the first bomb fell. . . ."

The military appraisals made before the weapons were used have been confirmed by numerous postsurrender studies. The best known is that of the United States Strategic Bombing Survey. The Survey's conclusion is unequivocal: "Japan would have surrendered even if the atomic bombs had not been dropped, even if Russia had not entered the war, and even if no invasion had been planned or contemplated."

That military considerations were not decisive is confirmed—and illuminated—by the fact that the President did not even ask the opinion of the military adviser most directly concerned. General MacArthur, Supreme Commander of Allied Forces in the Pacific, was simply informed of the weapon shortly before it was used at Hiroshima. Before his death he stated on numerous occasions that, like Eisenhower, he believed the atomic bomb was completely unnecessary from a military point of view.

Although military considerations were not primary, as we have seen, unquestionably political considerations related to Russia played a major role in the decision; from at least mid-May American policy makers hoped to end the hostilities before the Red Army entered Manchuria. For this reason they had no wish to test whether Russian entry into the war would force capitulation—as most thought likely—long before the scheduled November invasion. Indeed, they actively attempted to delay Stalin's declaration of war. . . . Were there other political reasons for using the atomic bomb? In approaching this question, it is important to note that most of the men involved at the time who since have made their views public always mention *two* considerations which dominated discussions. The first was the desire to end the Japanese war quickly, which, as we have seen, was not primarily a military consideration, but a political one. The second is always referred to indirectly. . . .

The general phrasing that the bomb was needed "to impress the world" has been made more specific by J. Robert Oppenheimer. Testifying on this matter some years later he stated that the second of the two "overriding considerations" in discussions regarding the bomb was "the effect of our actions on the stability, on our strength, and the stability of the postwar world." And the problem of postwar stability was inevitably the problem of Russia. . . .

Vannevar Bush, Stimson's chief aide for atomic matters, has been quite explicit: "That bomb was developed on time . . ." Not only did it mean a quick end to the Japanese war, but "it was also delivered on time so that there was no necessity for any concessions to Russia at the end of the war."

In essence, the second of the two overriding considerations seems to have been that a combat demonstration was needed to convince the Russians to accept the American plan for a stable peace. And the crucial point of this effort was the need to force agreement on the main questions in dispute: the American proposals for Central and Eastern Europe. President Truman may well have expressed the key consideration in October 1945; publicly urging the necessity of a more conventional form of military power (his proposal for universal military training), in a personal appearance before Congress the President declared: "It is only by strength that we can impress the fact upon possible future aggressors that we will tolerate no threat to peace. . . ."

If indeed the "second consideration" involved in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was the desire to impress the Russians, it might explain the strangely ambiguous statement by Truman that not only did the bomb end the war, but it gave the world "a chance to face the facts." It would also accord with Stimson's private advice to McCloy: "We have got to regain the lead and perhaps do it in a pretty rough and realistic way. . . . We have coming into action a weapon which will be unique. Now the thing [to do is] . . .let our actions speak for themselves." Again, it would accord with Stimson's statement to Truman that the "greatest complication" would occur if the President negotiated with Stalin before the bomb had been "laid on Japan." It would tie in with the fact that from mid-May strategy toward all major diplomatic problems was based upon the assumption the bomb would be demonstrated. Finally, it might explain why none of the highest civilian officials seriously questioned the use of the bomb as Eisenhower did; for, having reversed the basic direction of diplomatic strategy *because* of the atomic bomb, it would have been very difficult indeed for anyone subsequently to challenge an idea which had come to dominate all calculations of high policy.

At present no final conclusion can be reached on this question. But the problem can be defined with some precision: Why did the American government refuse to attempt to exploit Japanese efforts to surrender? Or, alternatively, why did they refuse to test whether a Russian declaration of war would force capitulation? Were Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombed primarily to impress the world with the need to accept America's plan for a stable and lasting peace—that is, primarily, America's plan for Europe? The evidence strongly suggests that the view which the President's personal representative offered to one of the atomic scientists in May 1945 was an accurate statement of policy: "Mr. Byrnes did not argue that it was necessary to use the bomb against the cities of Japan in order to win the war . . . Mr. Byrnes's . . . view [was] that our possessing and demonstrating the bomb would make Russia more manageable in Europe. . . ."

Questions for Discussion

1. What is your reaction to the various statements made by the generals?
2. How do you feel about the decision to drop the atomic bomb? If it were true the decision to drop the bomb was political, how would that effect your view?
3. Comment on this statement, "Hiroshima would not have been possible if it hadn't been for Auschwitz. Auschwitz paved the way for all the Hiroshimas in the future."
4. Would dropping the bomb have been justifiable if, in fact, it was dropped to save American lives and stop the war?
5. Theologian Thomas Merton said that it won't be mad men who will push the final button, but the sane ones who prepared the weapons and who will have "perfectly good reasons, logical, well adjusted reasons." What do you think of this statement?

Japanese Relocation

In 1982, the U.S. Congress held hearings on compensating Japanese-Americans who had been interned during World War II. The following provides background on the relocation and internment order.

After the attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the Japanese-American community was looked upon with distrust. Many Americans feared that many of the 100,000 persons of Japanese ancestry would serve as spies for Japan and commit sabotage within American borders. Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox argued that Pearl Harbor was due primarily to espionage by Japanese-Americans. Most lived in the three western states of California, Oregon, and Washington.

Much was made of the fact that there were Japanese immigrants who had lived in the United States for decades but had never become U.S. citizens. Yet, 73 percent of the Japanese were American citizens born in this country. The immigrant Japanese, known as Issei, could not by law become naturalized citizens and therefore could not own land. Thus, land was bought in the name of second-generation Japanese, called Nisei. Through hard work the Nisei had dominated commercial truck crops in California. This had been met with some jealousy by some native Californians.

Only a week after the Japanese attack, Congressman John Rankin, a southern racist, called for putting Japanese-Americans in concentration camps. Several other nations, including Canada, made plans for removing Japanese from certain areas. Then on February 14, 1942, President Roosevelt announced that under Executive Order 9066 all Japanese-Americans would be "relocated" to special camps.

Some of the Nisei strongly objected to this policy. In fact, the Supreme Court had to make several judicial decisions relating to the Japanese "relocation." In one prominent case, *Korematsu v. United States* in 1944, the Supreme Court ruled in a case involving a Nisei who refused to submit to evacuation. Those advocating prosecution argued that it was a military necessity for the United States to "relocate" the Japanese-Americans. They argued that 5000 citizens of Japanese ancestry had refused to swear unqualified allegiance to the United States and to renounce allegiance to the Japanese Emperor. They also argued that it was impossible to bring about the separation of the loyal from the disloyal Japanese-Americans. The Nisei stated that it was a violation of their constitutional civil rights to have them imprisoned in camps. To argue that the Japanese were potentially disloyal while not confining those of Italian and German ancestry appeared to reflect a double standard. It seemed that the Japanese-Americans were the victims of open racism.

Questions for Discussion

1. If you had been a judge in the Korematsu case, how would you have ruled?
2. What would have been your reaction if the Japanese-Americans had reacted angrily and violently to their "relocation?"
3. Recent Congressional hearings have been held on the issue of compensation for Japanese-Americans interned in "relocation" camps. Testifying before such a committee, John J. McCloy, Assistant Secretary of War at the time, made the following statement: "All of us suffered. People who died on Iwo Jima suffered too. I don't think we ought to apologize. . . . I don't think the Japanese population was unduly subjected considering all the exigencies to which a number did share in the way of retribution for the attack that was made on Pearl Harbor." What do you think of compensating those Japanese-Americans placed in such camps? Is McCloy right?
4. During the war, a special Army company of Japanese-Americans was created which fought in Europe. They were the highest decorated unit among all those serving in Europe. Why was a special unit for Japanese-Americans created?

Vietnam and Morality

The most recent large-scale American awareness of moral atrocities occurred during the Vietnam war. As time passes, more serious historical scholarship will analyze that controversial period in American history.

The Vietnam War was not historically another Holocaust, which must always be treated as unique. Yet, in the post-Auschwitz world, experiences such as the Vietnam War can teach us much about human behavior in war and about the capability for inflicting terror that seems to be in so many of us. Vietnam is also an example of how language, technology, and elite manpower have changed the nature of war.

Just as Jews had been dehumanized, the Vietnamese became "subhuman," and were often referred to as "dinks," "slopes," "zaps," or "gooks." In some cases American soldiers were instructed to consider the killing of Vietnamese as permissible behavior.

Americans fought an intensive air war which kindled a moral debate about the bombing of civilians and the use of chemicals to destroy vegetation. The by-product of the use of "Agent Orange," a chemical defoliant, is haunting us in many ways.

Much of the American reaction to atrocities was crystalized in regard to the My Lai massacre. Public opinion ranged from complete shock that some American soldiers would engage in such behavior to those who felt that such behavior was basic to war and that Lieutenant William Calley was unfairly tried as a war criminal.

There were individuals who refused to participate in the Vietnam War. This, too, remains a controversial part of our history. In the United States, thousands of Americans demonstrated against the war, and some young people refused to serve in the Armed Forces. Even in Vietnam, there were Americans who refused to obey all the orders of their commanders. Some, like Captain Levy, faced prosecution.

The following selections are taken from *Moral Reasoning* and *The Limits of War*, respectively.

The Trial of Lt. Calley

On the 16th of March 1968, in the Vietnamese village of My Lai, more than 100 women, children, and old men were killed by American soldiers of Charley Company. Lieutenant Calley was in command of the company on that day. It was charged that these victims were innocent civilians, that they did not put up a fight, and that many of them were lined up in a ditch and brutally murdered.

A combat photographer, Ronald Haeberle, took pictures of the bodies, and the grisly photographs were later published in *Life* magazine. Lieutenant Calley was accused of ordering the killing of these people and of personally committing many of the killings. The Army ordered a court-martial to try Calley for these crimes.

There was no doubt that a massacre had occurred. The Army's own investigation described it as ". . . a tragedy of major proportions." The question was who was to blame. Lieutenant Calley said his immediate superior, Captain Ernest Medina, had ordered him to kill everyone in the village. Calley said that Medina told him the people in the area had been warned that troops would be coming through; therefore anyone remaining in the area would be considered a supporter of the enemy.

Soldiers who have fought in Vietnam have said that you can't tell enemies from friends simply by looking at them, and that women and children carry grenades.

In addition to claiming that he was ordered to "waste" the village, Calley also reported on his state of mind and how his experiences in Vietnam had affected his thinking about the value of life. He said he was idealistic and eager to get to Vietnam and fight for his country. Soon after he got to Vietnam he found the reality of war was horrible and he said he no longer thought of himself as a sort of Boy Scout.

Just before My Lai many of Calley's men had been killed in an incident. He recalled with horror helping lift bodies of his men out of a helicopter. Many of the bodies had been mutilated by exploding mines, and Calley spoke of six pairs of boots with feet still in them. Calley said these events and his Army training made him feel the enemy were not individual human beings.

Calley also gave his views about what a soldier who is fighting for his country must do: "Majority rules, and if a majority tells me, 'Lieutenant, go and kill 1,000 enemies,' I'll go and kill 1,000 enemies. But I won't advocate it. I won't preach for it. I won't be a hypocrite."

Many Americans were sympathetic to Calley. Some felt he should not be tried. Congressman Mendel Rivers said he would do all he could to keep the Government from prosecuting the men charged with the massacre. Herbert Rainwater, national commander of the Veterans of Foreign Wars, said: "There have been My Lais in every war. Now for the first time in our history we have tried a soldier for performing his duty."

The White House received more than 100,000 telegrams, roughly 100 to 1 supporting Lieutenant Calley in some way. Many people felt Lieutenant Calley was being made a scapegoat; that he was being singled out for punishment while many higher-ranking officers escaped their share of blame. (Charges against two generals for covering up the massacre were dropped, although the generals were demoted.)

Many of those who felt higher-ranking officers should be tried referred to the case of a Japanese General, Tomouri Yamashita. Near the end of World War II, General Yamashita was hanged by U.S. authorities because many atrocities had been committed by men under his command. Although Yamashita did not know of many of the atrocities, officials said it was his responsibility to know what his men were doing and to prosecute them if they committed war crimes.

The United States Army's *Field Manual*, primarily as a result of the Yamashita case, says that commanders are responsible for criminal acts committed by men under their command and that they must bring these men to trial under military justice. Many high-ranking officers in the U.S. Army felt the Yamashita case did not apply in the

Calley trial because U.S. officers were following through with prosecution.

The jury found Calley guilty of committing premeditated murder of 22 Vietnamese civilians. They said even if Captain Medina had given the order, Calley should not have followed it because it was clearly an illegal order. Calley was given a life sentence at hard labor. Later his sentence was reduced to 20 years. His lawyers planned to appeal the decision. President Nixon ordered that Calley should not be held in prison while awaiting the outcome of the appeal procedures but could stay instead in an apartment at Fort Benning.

The Trial of Captain Levy

Consider the following case:

"Kill, kill. Cure, cure."

With these words Captain Howard B. Levy, a U.S. Army medical officer, age 30, expressed his inability to reconcile killing men. Captain Levy was called into the Army in 1965 and he reported, reluctantly, to Fort Jackson, South Carolina—reluctantly because he strongly disapproved of what the U.S. was doing in Vietnam.

He told his patients in his clinic that the war was wrong; he told Green Beret medical aides that they were "killers of peasants and murderers of women and children"; he told enlisted men that he would not serve in Vietnam if ordered to do so; he told Negro soldiers that if he were a Negro he would leave Vietnam and come home to fight the real battle—civil rights.

In the fall of 1966 Captain Levy's commanding officer at the hospital where he was assigned, Colonel Henry F. Fancy, ordered the young doctor to train Green Beret medical aid men.

Captain Levy refused on the grounds that it was contrary to medical ethics to do so because aid men were used as a friendly entry into South Vietnamese villages. Levy said this was the "political use of medicine."

Captain Levy was charged with willfully disobeying an order and with making statements designed to promote disloyalty among the troops. He was brought before a general court-martial.

Captain Levy's civilian attorney, Charles Morgan, Jr., of the American Civil Liberties Union, argued that Green Beret men were in fact "killers of peasants" and "murderers of women," and Captain Levy was justified in refusing to be a party to war crimes. Morgan witnesses said that Green Berets participated in the destruction and turned over Viet Cong prisoners to the South Vietnamese.

It was known by the Berets that such prisoners were sometimes tortured, Morgan's witnesses asserted. Military medics are traditionally noncombatants, but Green Beret aid men are cross-trained in such skills as demolition or intelligence. Therefore, it was argued, the men Captain Levy trained could become parties to the crimes allegedly committed by Green Beret forces.

However, Colonel Earl Brown, the law officer (judge), declared that Morgan's defense amounted to accusing the Green Berets of committing war crimes of the kind that had been condemned at Nuremberg. After hearings he ruled that there was insufficient evidence to bring the issue of war crimes before the court-martial.

Questions for Discussion

1. What would have happened if the United States did not fight in Vietnam?
2. How might the fact that some women and children carried grenades have affected the actions of some soldiers. At one point in the Winter Soldier Investigation, a soldier is asked to consider why "that old grandmother wants to throw a bomb at you." How would you answer this?
3. Why did Captain Calley obey the order to kill civilians?
4. Why did Captain Levy refuse to obey orders?
5. What happened to Lieutenant Calley and Captain Levy?

Language in Vietnam

Language changed during the Vietnam War. As happened during the Holocaust, terminology was sometimes used to conceal or blur the real meaning of a policy.

Word	Real Meaning
internal armed conflict	war
Charley	Viet Cong
yards	Montagnard tribesmen
White Mice	White-uniformed local police
winning hearts and minds (WHAM)	convincing the Vietnamese that the Viet Cong are the enemy
Indian Country	the jungle
Hanoi Hilton	prison camp
buying the farm	death
zapping	killing
fragging	killing
offing	killing
greasing	killing
waxing	killing
hosing down a village (using a "Zippo" squad to set it afire)	killing
waste	killing
limited duration protective reaction strike	air raid
H and I (harassment and prejudice)	artillery fire
resources control program	defoliation

Word	Real Meaning
pacification	forcible movement of Vietnamese from countryside to cities under American control
New Life Hamlets	camps for those moved from countryside
free fire zone	area open to American attack at any time. Anyone remaining could be killed.
Vietnamization	program to have American soldiers leave Vietnam by replacing them with South Vietnamese troops
Operation Phoenix	C.I.A program to assassinate Vietnamese leaders sympathetic to Vietcong
rubber brain	Vietnamese
Puff the magic dragon	helicopter fire that saturates area
search and destroy	United States combat mission with intent to kill anything in the way
rec-wreck	reconnaissance with intent to kill
hooch	Vietnamese home
Operation Ranch Hand	American program to defoliate major sections of Vietnam
prepping the area	helicopter fire of 20mm cannons into Vietnamese houses; then shooting the villagers who come out

Questions for Discussion

1. What do these terms reveal about the feelings of both the American soldiers and those who directed the war? What was the purpose of this language?
2. How do these terms conceal or blur policy?
3. How does this terminology affect the attitudes, values and behavior of its users?

The Use of Napalm

What Would You Do?

Nerve gas, biological warfare, atomic weaponry—are there limits to the types of weapons an army should be allowed to use? How does a nation decide?

The Dow Chemical Company produced napalm for use in the Vietnam War. Napalm, a mixture of 50 percent polystyrene, 25 percent benzene, and 25 percent gasoline, is known as an antipersonnel weapon. It is a jellylike substance which creates severe burning of the skin. During the war, American pilots dropped napalm that severly burned many Vietnamese civilians. Napalm causes keloid scars which are difficult to treat and which can develop into tumorous growths.

Dow Chemical was severely criticized by antiwar groups for its manufacture of napalm. In 1967, Herbert D. Doan, the president of the corporation, responded with the following:

> Why do we produce napalm? We produce it because we feel our company should produce those items which our fighting men need in time of war when we have the ability to do so.
>
> We are told that to make a weapon because you're asked to do so by your Government puts you in precisely the same position as the German industrialists who pleaded at their Nuremberg trials that they were "only following orders."
>
> We reject the validity of comparing our present form of government with Hitler's Nazi Germany. In our mind our Government is still representative of and responsive to the will of the people.*

At another time, Dow spokesmen argued:

> Our position on the manufacture of napalm is that we are a supplier of goods to the Defense Department and not a policymaker. We do not and should not try to decide military strategy or policy. Simple good citizenship requires that we supply our Government and our military with those tools which they feel they need whenever we have the technology and capability and have been chosen by the Government as a supplier.
>
> We will do our best, as we always have, to try to produce what our Defense Department and our soldiers need in any war situation. Purely aside from our duty to do this, we will feel deeply gratified if what we are able to provide helps to protect our fighting men or to speed the day when the fighting will end.*

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*Quoted in *War and the American Conscience*, Erwin Kroll, editor

Questions for Discussion

1. Was Dow Chemical guilty of any crime?
2. If you had been on the Board of Directors of Dow Chemical, would you have agreed with the production of napalm?
3. As a chemist in a Dow plant, how would you have reacted to the assignment of making napalm for use in Vietnam?
4. Art Hoppe, satirist, has written, "to kill women and children at less than 500 paces is an atrocity; at more than 500 paces, it's an act of heroism." Comment.

Sisters of the Third World*

Kenneth Woodward

The role of the church in world affairs continues to be the subject of spirited debate. Here is a brief reading from *Newsweek* by Kenneth Woodward that deals with controversial Christian actions. It concerns the Catholic order of Maryknoll sisters who provide an unorthodox image of what Catholic nuns can be. In 1980, four Maryknoll sisters were murdered by government soldiers in El Salvador.

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The actions of the Maryknoll sisters seem more and more remote in a world that has allowed itself so much silence.

Shocking though they were, the recent murders of two Maryknoll mission sisters in El Salvador were not entirely unexpected. Because of her activist social sympathies, Sister Ita Ford was rumored to be on the hit lists of several right-wing organizations. Sister Maura Clarke was warned when she left Nicaragua en route to El Salvador last August that she faced almost certain martyrdom. The Maryknollers, the oldest and largest missionary order of Roman Catholic American women, have become a socially committed religious community, dedicated to "solidarity" with the Third World's poor, and the atrocities in El Salvador were brutal reminders of the risks that attend that commitment.

Maryknoll's way of life has changed radically since the order's early missions in Asia, where nuns in gray religious habits and black veils catered primarily to the upper classes. Today the habits are relics—and so are the protective convents and other institutional forms of life that once set the sisters apart from other people. The social upheavals of the past twenty years have drawn the missioners into political conflicts in which it is often impossible not to take sides. "We cannot teach the Gospel in a vacuum," says Maryknoll president Melinda Roper, just back from burying her slain sisters in the Salvadoran hill country. "We have a mission based on the Gospel, which has political implications."

'Our Goal': Like most missionary societies, Maryknoll first attracted dedicated women by promising them careers as nurses, teachers and even doctors in colorful foreign cultures. "Our goal then was to bring Christ to non-Christians, often by staffing institutions to serve the better off, expecting that they in turn would help the poor," says Sister Janice McLaughlin, a journalist who works in Africa. Then came World War II and the Communist revolutions in Asia, two convulsions which wrenched them out of the cloister and altered the realities of their mission. Sisters who stayed behind to help the people after the U.S. surrender in the Philippines were imprisoned and sometimes tortured by victorious Japanese soldiers. In China and Korea the same fate befell those who chose not to flee the Communists. When the sisters expanded their work to Africa and Latin America, they felt the tremors of revolution there as well.

Then, in the '60s, the Roman Catholic Church produced its own internal upheaval—Vatican Council II—and Maryknoll painfully reassessed its purpose in light of the council's emphasis on global peace and justice. Instead of erecting convents, the sisters elected to live in shantytowns and barrios, sharing the fate and fears of the poor they sought to serve. Most discarded their robes and veils as well, thereby relinquishing the subtle privilege—and the protection—that religious habits afford.

As a result, Maryknoll sisters today are often freer than priests to respond to people's needs. In many parts of priest-poor Latin America, in fact, nuns function as de facto pastors to peasants who have no churches and rarely see a Roman collar. Among other religious duties, the sisters baptize children, counsel couples, lead prayer services and administer last rites to the dying—everything short of hearing confession and saying Mass. Equally important, they help organize Christian "basic communities" in which a core of local leaders is taught to relate the Gospel to their own struggles for social and economic justice. For the Maryknoll order, working with the poor demands that missionaries help people to recognize—and change—the social structures which condemn them to lifelong poverty.

A Final Blessing: In Tanzania, for example, Maryknoll sisters supported the socialist revolution of President Julius K. Nyerere. Sister Janice McLaughlin says she was imprisoned—and then deported—for publishing a series of "fact papers" on secret torture and hangings by the former white regime in Zimbabwe. Today the sisters' greatest risks lie in the politically volatile countries of Central America. During Nicaragua's recent civil war some of the sisters harbored Sandinista insurgents. "When you are serving in a country where a dozen families have most of the wealth, serving the poor necessarily puts you in opposition to the rich," says Sister Julianne Warnshuis, who worked with poor children for five years in Nicaragua: "The kids were fighters too, and they would come to us to ask for a final blessing. They needed the church to cry with them, and when they did not return, we would go and cry with their parents."

At the Maryknoll motherhouse near Ossining, N.Y., last week, the sisters posted snapshots of their murdered colleagues and spoke of the meaning the atrocity holds for them. "Ita and Maura lived what we talk about, that mission is a total way of life—and their deaths really speak to that," said Sister Mary Lou Daoust, a young physician who will soon go to Guatemala on her first mission. And at a weekend memorial Mass, the community prayed for the two women whose bodies—according to Maryknoll's tradition—are interred in Salvadoran soil, among the people they served. "We go there, we live there," said Sister Melinda Roper. "If we die, we're buried there."

Questions for Discussion

1. Why do the Maryknollers do what they do?
2. The Maryknoll sisters have been regarded as both saints and as dangerous people. How would you evaluate them?
3. Some Catholic priests opposed to nuclear war broke into the warehouse of a company and destroyed some military equipment it manufactured. Clearly such an act is against the law. Are there times when such law breaking is justified?

Dr. King's Decision in Birmingham

From Dissent and Protest

When we say, "a person acted out of conscience," we usually mean that the individual took some action based on his or her commitment to certain high ideals or values. People who act on their convictions sometimes do so at risk to their freedom or safety. Literature and history provide well-known examples of people who accepted great risks to achieve what they thought was right. In an ancient Greek play, Antigone decided to bury her brother who was killed in a war against their own city-state. Her brother fought for the enemy. The law ordered that her brother not be buried. Antigone claimed that a law higher than human law existed. She would receive the death sentence for breaking the law.

Henry David Thoreau, an American philosopher, believed that taxes for war were a violation of his human rights. He chose to go to jail rather than pay taxes for what he considered an unjust war. During the Vietnam War, thousands of young American men chose to resist the draft laws rather than serve in a war they considered to be immoral. Many sacrificed their citizenship by leaving the country and others served prison terms.

The previous examples have several things in common. In each case the persons (1) recognized what they felt were injustices; (2) understood the consequences of their actions; (3) chose nonviolence as their means of protest; and (4) accepted the consequences of their actions.

One American who stands out as a person of conscience is Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., a Black leader during the 1950s and 1960s. His pursuit of a more just society forced our nation to do something about granting Black Americans their civil rights. Anti-Black policies were often excused or protected by the law. Martin Luther King, a minister, was a believer in nonviolence as a means to bring about change, and urged his people to follow his example. King was willing to speak out and act in ways that placed his life in danger. In April 1968, Dr. King was assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was a modern example of a just person who cared not only about his own people but for all mankind. As King stated:

> "There is a message reaching out through the vicissitudes of time saying 'ye do it unto the least of thee,' my brethren, 'ye do it unto me' . . . Ultimately the great nation is a compassionate nation. A great individual is a compassionate individual concerned about the least of thee. And really in the final analysis, you got to be concerned about the least of thee because you are tied up with the least of thee. For some strange reason, no matter how rich you are, you can never be totally rich as long as there is poverty in the world. For we are all caught in an inescapable network of mutuality tied in a single formidable destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. John Donne said it years ago and placed it in graphic terms; 'No man is an island, entire of itself. Every man is a piece of the continent, a part of the main.' And then he goes on towards the end to say, 'Any man's death diminishes me, because I am involved in mankind. . . .' "

The following article from *Dissent and Protest* provides a view of this man's search for conscience.

When Martin Luther King, Jr. arrived in Birmingham, Ala., in the spring of 1963, the deep-South city had the reputation of being the most fiercely segregationist city in the U.S.

Its mayor, Arthur Hanes, and its police chief, Eugene "Bull" Connor, both strongly advocated segregation, or separation of the races. George Wallace had recently been elected governor of the state on the campaign slogan "Segregation Now—Segregation Forever."

Birmingham refused to allow Negro children to attend white schools or play in white parks. Negroes could not worship in white churches, drink at white fountains, eat at white restaurants, be born or die in white hospitals.

Almost half of Birmingham's total population of 340,887 were black, yet there were only 10,000 registered Negro voters. And there had been so many "unsolved" bombings of Negro homes and churches that Birmingham was sometimes called *Bombingham*.

But when Dr. King left the city after six weeks of protests and rioting, the civil rights struggle had become a national movement, and the Negro's demand for "Freedom Now" echoed in more than 800 cities from coast to coast.

In spite of a warning by one city official that "blood will run in the streets," it began peacefully enough. On April 3, 1963, a small number of Dr. King's followers quietly sat down at lunch counters in downtown Birmingham—lunch counters that served whites only. Police asked them to leave. When they politely refused, they were quietly taken to jail.

The next few days were deceptively calm. Under Dr. King's direction, mass meetings were held to recruit protesters for marches on City Hall, boycotts of downtown stores, and "kneel-ins" at white-only churches. Volunteer protesters were trained in the tactics of nonviolence. In addition to signing nonviolence pledges, the volunteers watched plays in which "white policemen" beat protesters who refused to strike back.

During the next week everything went according to plan. There were demonstrations in the streets and marches on City Hall. Many were arrested, but news of the arrests brought forth more volunteers. The jails were gradually filling up. White businessmen began to feel the pinch of the Negro boycott of downtown stores.

But then, on Wednesday, April 10, the unexpected happened. An Alabama court issued an order to stop the protest movement. Dr. King was ordered to appear in court and argue his case *before* being permitted to resume demonstrations. If he failed to comply with the court order, he and his followers could be arrested and imprisoned.

Dr. King had intended to let exactly that happen to him. He declared his intention to violate the court order by leading a protest march on Good Friday, April 12.

However, the court announced that it would no longer accept property or formal promises as bail for the release of prisoners—but would now require cash.

It meant that if Dr. King and other key figures in the movement were arrested, they could be held in jail until cash was posted for their release. And money for the long struggle ahead was already running low.

It was a critical moment for the entire civil rights movement in the South. Early in the morning of April 12, Dr. King presided over a stormy strategy meeting at the Gaston Hotel in the black ghetto. . . .

Dr. King reminded the group that the Negro protesters were not "anarchists advocating lawlessness." But, he explained, obeying the court could defeat the entire movement.

His duty, Dr. King said, was to *not* obey the order, which he said was issued by a court that used the judicial process to maintain an immoral system of segregation. Dr. King emphasized that he would disobey the court order because he believed it was wrong *in this case*.

But many of those present begged him not to go to jail. Without bail, they argued, he could be locked up and cut off from his followers.

"If you go to jail now," one Negro leader said, "the battle of Birmingham is lost."

Dr. King had told his people that they should go to jail cheerfully when fighting injustice. Hundreds of them had already done so. Could he do less than he asked of his people? And yet he didn't want to see the movement wrecked.

"I want to meditate about this decision," he told the group.

For half an hour the Negro leaders waited tensely while Dr. King thought and prayed alone in his room. When he finally came out, he was wearing work clothes—blue jeans and a cotton shirt—and his face was stern.

"I've decided to take a leap of faith," he said. "I don't know if the movement will continue to build up or collapse. If enough people are willing to go to jail, I believe it will force the Federal Government to act . . . ."

He turned to Rev. Ralph Abernathy, a long-time friend and fellow civil rights worker. "I know you want to be in your pulpit on Easter Sunday, Ralph," he said, "but I'm asking you to go with me."

"Well, you know," Abernathy answered, "I have always been in jail with you, Martin, and I can't leave you at this point."

That afternoon both men were arrested. Dr. King was placed in solitary confinement. He remained in the Birmingham jail for more than a week. Sunk in deep depression, unable to contact friends or family, he began to doubt the wisdom of his decision.

But good news came on the eighth day. Friends had raised money for his release. "I didn't know whether the sun was shining or not at that moment," he said, "but I knew that once again I could see the light."

As soon as he was free, Dr. King made another bold decision. In spite of sharp criticism from whites and Negroes alike, he decided to involve students in the campaign.

On May 3 the protests reached their height, with more than 1,000 student demonstrators marching in the streets of Birmingham.

But before long the marchers met a long line of policemen blocking their path. They were ordered to disperse.

"We want freedom," they shouted in reply. And they kept marching.

Bull Connor, furious at this defiance, ordered fire hoses played on the marchers. Powerful streams of water flattened youngsters against the pavement. Some tried to get up and were knocked down again. A series of running battles broke out between club-swinging policemen and protesters hurling rocks and bottles.

On television that night a stunned nation saw police dogs snapping at children, stores and houses in flames, and two policemen holding a Negro woman on the ground, one of them with his knee jammed against her throat.

The same night Dr. King spoke to 1,000 people at a church meeting. "We're going on in spite of dogs and fire hoses," he said. "We've gone too far to turn back."

President Kennedy sent two of his top assistants to Birmingham to open a series of talks between Negro and white leaders. On Friday, May 10, an agreement was announced. The Birmingham crisis seemed to be nearing an end.

But violence flared again. Shortly after a Ku Klux Klan meeting, an explosion rocked the home of Dr. King's brother, the Rev. A. D. King. A second bomb shook the Gaston Hotel, where Dr. King had been staying.

Although no one was hurt in the bombings, the truce of Birmingham had been shattered.

Thousands of angry Negroes poured into the streets. They threw stones, bricks, and bottles. They set torches to white men's stores. They fought off firemen who tried to put out the fires. "White men," they screamed, "we'll kill you!"

President Kennedy went on television to warn black and white extremists alike. He ordered 3,000 federal troops into Birmingham and said he would federalize the Alabama National Guard if rioting continued.

Dr. King, alarmed by what was happening, warned his followers not to fall into the trap of violence. "Violence is immoral," he told them, "but not only that—violence is impractical."

Peace was finally restored, but six weeks of demonstrations in Birmingham had aroused the conscience of the nation. The evils of segregation had been dramatized in full view of an entire nation.

On June 11, 1963, President Kennedy asked the Congress to pass a bill calling for Negro voting rights, employment opportunities, and an end to segregation in all public facilities.

The war against segregation in the South was not over, but the Battle of Birmingham had been won.

Questions for Discussion

1. How would you describe life in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963? What were the implications for Black Americans? Be specific.
2. What actions did Dr. King and his followers take to protect what they thought were violations of their civil rights? Were these actions against the law? What were the consequences of their actions?
3. Is it ever right to break a law? Explain.
4. Dr. King risked his own freedom and safety by violating laws which he felt were unjust. How do you feel about his actions? Were the results worth his efforts? Why was his decision in Birmingham important to the United States?
5. Find more information about the following social activists from different cultures:
   - A. Albert Schweitzer
   - B. Stephen S. Wise
   - C. Kagawa
   - D. Cesar Chavez
   - E. Clarence Darrow
   - F. Steven Biko
   - G. Polngaysi Qoyawama
   - H. Perez Esquivel

Definitions

anarchists—those who believe in no laws or government
nonviolence—a philosophy in which change is brought about by peaceful means

Behold the Sea

Aaron Kurtz

Aaron Kurtz was born in Russia in 1891. Coming to America as a child and living in a New York ghetto, Kurtz began to write poetry in Yiddish. In this excerpt from "Behold the Sea," Kurtz compares the problem of Black-Americans with the experience of Jews in Nazi Germany.

For many years, Blacks and Jews in America fought a common cause. Many Jews participated in the early civil rights movement. More recently, this alliance has been challenged by a variety of reasons including increased pro-Arab militance in some sections of the Black community and by a growing conservatism among some Jews.

. . . They got you last night.
I saw you clubbed.
I recognized the nightsticks: they were thorny twigs

From the tree from where I saw
your brother lynched.
They felt the same as those they used
on my Father in Maidenek.

I saw a boot step on your throat last night:
it was the same boot that stepped on my young sister's throat.

I saw you shot last night.
I saw the gun: it was the gun they used
on my brother in Dachau . . .

I saw clear white, pure white
from White House to the Ku Klux Klan's white robes
and the white gardenias in the lapels of justice—
white guns booming in Mississippi courthouses.
white guns on campuses proclaiming
white law of love and brotherhood . . .

I saw Christ flog you on the chain gang.
I saw Christ put the torch to your brother on a heartbroken tree.
I saw Christ torture you on Times Square.
(That wasn't Christ at all, of course—it was Judas raving he was Christ, with thumb on trigger).
I saw your children chased from a white open hydrant on a hot day in Alexandria. I wanted to cry,
but would not dare
after I heard your mothers crying from a million
smoke holes in the black belt.
I heard the wise old trees of Georgia cry the cry of your lynched sons.
I saw the scabrous,
filthy walls of Harlem cry the cry of your clean heart . . .

One day at dawn
I saw the toppled white tombstones of your great
rise and grow
taller than
the tallest lynch trees of your land.
I saw Paul
standing on the beach—singing
across the sea
I heard his mighty voice, tragic thunder of
man's heart, roaring through the waves. I thought it was
the roaring sea, singing
to our brother, singing to
our might.

Questions for Discussion

1. What does the poet mean when he states, "I wanted to cry, but would not dare"? Have you ever experienced this feeling? Explain.
2. How does the poet link the images of Dachau, Selma, Christ, and Judas?

Life and Death

Medgar Evers was a Mississippi Black civil rights leader who was assassinated in the early 1960s. Bob Dylan's song is an attempt to understand this senseless killing and to place it in perspective.

Jonathan Daniels was a white northerner who felt so strongly about civil rights in the 1960s that he was willing to go to the South and aid the cause. He believed that self-fulfillment lay in service to humanity.

Both examples say much about two opposing kinds of human behavior.

Only a Pawn in Their Game*

Bob Dylan

A bullet from the back of a bush took Medgar Evers' blood.
A finger fired the trigger to his name.
A handle hid out in the dark
A hand set the spark
Two eyes took the aim
Behind a man's brain
But he can't be blamed
He's only a pawn in their game.

A South politician preaches to the poor white man,
"You got more than the blacks, don't complain.
You're better than them, you been born with white skin," they explain.
And the Negro's name
Is used it is plain
For the politician's gain
As he rises to fame
And the poor white remains
On the caboose of the train
But it ain't him to blame
He's only a pawn in their game.

The deputy sheriffs, the soldiers, the governors get paid.
And the marshals and cops get the same,
But the poor white man's used in the hands of them all like a tool.
He's taught in his school
From the start by the rule
That the laws are with him
To protect his white skin
To keep up his hate
So he never thinks straight
'Bout the shape that he's in
But it ain't him to blame
He's only a pawn in their game.

From the poverty shacks, he looks from the cracks to the tracks,
And the hoof beats pound in his brain.
And he's taught how to walk in a pack
Shoot in the back
With his fist in a clinch
To hang and to lynch
To hide 'neath the hood
To kill with no pain
Like a dog on a chain
He ain't got no name
But it ain't him to blame
He's only a pawn in their game.

Today, Medgar Evers was buried from the bullet he caught.
They lowered him down as a king.
But when the shadowy sun sets on the one
That fired the gun
He'll see by his grave
On the stone that remains
Carved next to his name
His epitaph plain
Only a pawn in their game.

Anniversary for an Unsung Hero

Cody Shearer

The name of Jonathan Myrick Daniels is not found alongside that of Martin Luther King in U.S. history books. But Daniels was one of Dr. King's many unheralded white soldiers.

This month Jonathan Daniels would have been 40 years old.

It all started by mistake. At a dinner break from his graduate school studies at the Episcopal Theological School in Cambridge, Massachusetts in March of 1965, Jonathan Daniels saw Martin

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Luther King on television appealing for "all men of good will" to join him in Selma, Alabama in opposing the physical abuse of black Americans.

Daniels retreated from his television set that evening to the school chapel, where he wrestled with his conscience. He concluded that he must go to Selma, Ala., which he did the following morning.

Unlike most Northern whites who protested in the South, Daniels didn't just make one trip to sing and march. He returned to Alabama in the summer of 1965 to register black voters. He never made it home again.

On a steamy August afternoon in Fort Dodge, Daniels was arrested with 30 other demonstrators for parading without a permit. He and the other demonstrators were carted off to a jail in Hayneville, 30 miles from the state capitol. Though he was given opportunities to post a $100 bond, Daniels spent a week in jail, refusing to leave without his fellow demonstrators.

Without notice the demonstrators were released on the afternoon of August 20. They were told by Hayneville authorities to get out of town within 30 minutes. A member of the group immediately called the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) office in nearby Selma for assistance. No one was available, so the group began to break up.

With 15 cents in his pocket, Daniels and a 26-year-old white preacher from Chicago joined two young blacks in a walk toward the main highway. En route the four stopped at a country store to share a Coke.

As Daniels was approaching the store, he was confronted by a white man with an automatic .12-gauge shotgun. When he was ordered off the premises Daniels asked if they were being threatened. The gunman didn't respond. He unloaded his weapon into Daniel's stomach, killing him instantly. The white preacher behind Daniels turned to escape but was critically wounded in the back. He lay in the street for an hour before receiving medical attention.

Jonathan Daniels died on his mother's birthday, making it all the more difficult for Mrs. Daniels to be philosophical about his death. Even though she proudly acknowledges his accomplishments, she says, "I would exchange it all to have him back."

How did the gunman know Jonathan Daniels was going to be released from jail? Did someone tip him off? Was Daniels deliberately set up? Why wasn't this case brought to federal authorities?

On September 30, 1965, an all-white jury acquitted the gunman of first-degree manslaughter. The prosecution had unsuccessfuly attempted to delay the trial until its key witness, the Chicago preacher, was fit to testify.

A subsequent assault and battery charge was brought against the alleged gunman by the wounded preacher, but to no avail. When the preacher was called before the all-white grand jury and asked to show his rear-entry bullet wound, the grand jury only wanted to know if he'd "ever kissed a nigger."

After the Daniels verdict, U.S. Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach commented that "this kind of result is expected from time to time. It is difficult to get convictions in some areas. This is the price you have to pay for the jury system, but I don't think it is too high a price to pay."

There were other white civil rights workers—Andrew Goodman, Michael Schwerner and Viola Liuzzo—killed in the South. Not to mention the many blacks routinely slaughtered during the period.

But there was something special about that period that is missing today; a deep concern and compassion for one's country.

Jonathan Daniels' life was in direct contrast to our present climate of cynicism and selfishness that President Carter recently berated.

In an autobiographical letter to the admissions committee at the Episcopal Theological Seminary, Daniels wrote: "The man who has most influenced me was my father, whose sacrificed practice of medicine and deep concern for human pain whether organic or psychic, early shaped my conviction that self-fulfillment lies in service. I learned from him that a day's work never ends and that because of the ubiquity of need and suffering, possessions are an embarrassment."

Questions for Discussion

1. What does Dylan mean when he describes the assassin as a "pawn"?
2. According to Dylan, how are Blacks and poor whites kept as enemies? Do you believe this is true? Explain.
3. Why did Daniels go to Selma, Alabama?
4. What comparison does Cody Shearer make between Jonathan Daniels and present attitudes?
5. Have you ever felt like a "pawn?" How can we avoid becoming pawns?

Definitions

ubiquity—the state of being everywhere at the same time.

South Africa: University Investment

What Would You Do?

The tuition paid by students covers only a very small part of a university's budget. Most of the funds for these institutions come from government grants, private gifts, and from investments.

Imagine that there is a major college in the United States with a large endowment. It has invested much of that money in corporations that have financial interests in the economic development of South Africa, a country that practices the policy of apartheid, legal separation of the races. Although Blacks represent the overwhelming majority of South Africa's population, their political and economic power is minimal. In recent years, a growing Black power movement in South Africa has developed. Riots have occurred in Soweto, the Black ghetto of South Africa's largest city, Johannesburg. Steven Biko, a young Black leader, was arrested and died mysteriously while in prison.

Students aware of what is happening in South Africa make a proposal to the Board of Trustees of the college. They demand that all college investments in companies with interests in South Africa be withdrawn. They argue that American corporate involvement in South Africa promotes the continued power of a white racist society. They plead that a college devoted to the pursuit of truth and a better world should not lend its finances to companies doing business with unethical governments. Opponents argue that the college has every right to keep such investments. Since these investments are very profitable, they help defray the cost to the student of attending the college. Secondly, American corporations could influence South African businesses to hire more Blacks at better wages and to slowly and peacefully change the policy of apartheid.

Questions for Discussion

1. How should the Board of Trustees rule in this case? Would your view change if you were a student at the college?
2. How should the American government deal with South Africa? Should they stop American corporations from investing in South Africa?
3. How is it in the economic self-interest of businesses in South Africa to employ more Blacks at higher levels and to pay them the same as whites?
4. If South Africa had a national policy to not allow Black athletes from any nation to participate in sports competition, should the United States continue to send athletes to participate in such events? For example, if Arthur Ashe, a Black American tennis player, were not allowed to play in their tournaments, should other Americans play in their tournaments?
5. Many of those who are opposed to the United States having business dealings with South Africa call the United States policy racist. Yet many African, Asian, and Middle Eastern nations also do business with South Africa. How would you or they justify this?
6. What other arguments for or against the university's investing in South Africa would you offer?

Tyranny in Argentina

Jacobo Timerman

Alexander Solzhenitsyn, the Russian Nobel laureate, has written a series of novels about the suppression of dissent in the Soviet Union. Others have written of the Soviet manipulation of "psychology" to place protestors in mental institutions. Thus, the Russian government possesses a deserved reputation for its denial of freedom and the human need for truth. Yet our desire in the West to see this suppression as a "communist" issue should not blind us to the many sides of political terror.

Many governments of the right, anti-communist governments, have also perfected the game of state terror.

The following reading is taken from Jacobo Timerman's *Prisoner Without a Name, Cell Without a Number.* As a newspaper editor and publisher, Timerman was arrested in 1977 by the Argentine military.

He was thrown in prison and tortured. Over 20,000 Argentinians have disappeared in the last few years. Miraculously, Timerman was released, and he has told of his experience.

A storm of controversy has surrounded the Timerman case. His testimony has been used as a sharp criticism of the view that right-wing dictatorships are less prone to committing atrocities than communist dictatorships. Timerman has also been accused of overemphasizing his Jewishness as a reason for his arrest, and of unfairly comparing the situation in Argentina with the Holocaust.

Timerman's captors refer to him as a Zionist, a term requiring some historical explanation. In the late nineteenth century, a group of Jews including Moses Hess, Leon Pinsker, and Theodor Herzl decided that even assimilation would not bring the acceptance of Jews into Christian society. Herzl, a journalist for an Austrian newspaper, had attended the trial of French Army Captain Alfred Dreyfus—an assimilated Jew—falsely accused of spying against his country. Paris rang with anti-Semitic cries. Herzl concluded that the only hope for Jews lay in the creation of a Jewish state, a dream which had remained in the Jewish psyche since the destruction of the Second Temple and the Second Commonwealth by the Romans in the 1st Century. Although considerable numbers of Jews continued to live in Palestine for centuries (and there have always been some Jews in the land) most Jews were now dispersed throughout the world. The desire of Jews to return to the land of Israel and recreate a Jewish state is called Zionism. Zionism is to the Jewish people what the liberation movements of Africa and Asia have been to their peoples.

Timerman's experience and the surrounding debate raise, once again, many of the issues in this anthology.

A man's hands are shackled behind him, his eyes blindfolded. No one says a word. Blows are showered upon a man. He's placed on the ground and someone counts to ten, but he's not killed. A man is then led to what may be a canvas bed, or a table, stripped, doused with water, tied to the ends of the bed or table, hands and legs outstretched. And the application of electric shock begins. The amount of electricity transmitted by the electrodes—or whatever they're called—is regulated so that it merely hurts, or burns, or destroys. It's impossible to shout—you howl. At the onset of this long human howl, someone with soft hands supervises your heart, someone sticks his hand into your mouth and pulls your tongue out of it in order to prevent this man from choking. Someone places a piece of rubber in the man's mouth to prevent him from biting his tongue or destroying his lips. A brief pause. And then it starts all over again. With insults this time. A brief pause. And then questions. A brief pause. And then words of hope. A brief pause. And then insults. A brief pause. And then questions. . . .

When electric shocks are applied, all that a man feels is that they're ripping apart his flesh. And he howls. Afterwards, he doesn't feel the blows. Nor does he feel them the next day, when there's no electricity but only blows. The man spends days confined in a cell without windows, without light, either seated or lying down. He also spends days tied to the foot of a ladder so that he's unable to stand up and can only kneel, sit, or stretch out. The man spends a month not being allowed to wash himself, transported on the floor of an automobile to various places for interrogation, fed badly, smelling bad. The man is left enclosed in a small cell for forty-eight hours, his eyes blindfolded, his hands tied behind him, hearing no voice, seeing no sign of life, having to perform his bodily functions upon himself. . . .

Although I cannot transmit the magnitude of that pain, I can perhaps offer some advice to those who will suffer torture in the future. The human being will continue to be tortured in different countries, under different regimes. In the year and a half I spent under house arrest I devoted much thought to my attitude during torture sessions and during the period of solitary confinement. I realized that, instinctively, I'd developed an attitude of absolute passivity. Some fought against being carried to the torture tables; others begged not to be tortured; others insulted their torturers. I represented sheer passivity. Because my eyes were blindfolded, I was led by the hand. And I went. The silence was part of the terror. Yet I did not utter a word. I was told to undress. And I did so, passively. I was told, when I sat on a bed, to lie down. And, passively, I did so. This passivity, I believe, preserved a great deal of energy and left me with all my strength to withstand the torture. I felt I was becoming a vegetable, casting aside all logical emotions and sensations—fear, hatred, vengeance—for any emotion or sensation meant wasting useless energy.

In my opinion, this is sound advice. Once it's been determined that a human being is to be tortured, nothing can prevent that torture from taking place. And it's best to allow yourself to be led meekly toward pain and through pain, rather than to struggle resolutely as if you were a normal human being. The vegetable attitude can save a life. . . . Is Argentina an anti-Semitic country?

No; no country is. But there are anti-Semitic factions operating in Argentina, as indeed there are in all other countries. Are they violent? More violent than some, less violent than others. And the military? Each time a military government comes into power in Argentina, typical anti-Semitic acts disappear (the bombs placed in synagogues and Jewish institutions), for a military government at the outset imposes a certain order. But the Jew as citizen senses that his situation is altering: military governments do not name Jews to public posts; state radio and television prefer not to hire Jews; and so on, although there are always a certain number of Jews designated to serve as a defense against any possible accusation of anti-Semitism.

But this is past history. The military government that took power in Argentina in March 1976 arrived with an all-embracing arsenal of Nazi ideology as part of its structure. It would be impossible to determine whether this was backed by the majority or minority of the armed forces, though unquestionably anyone who was a Nazi, or merely anti-Semitic, didn't have to conceal or disguise his feelings; he could act accordingly. Security forces could repress Jews simply because they were Jews. They could mistreat political prisoners for their politics as well as for being Jews. The secret services could prosecute individuals, basing accusations simply on the fact that they were Jews; the leaders of the repression could detain Jewish prisoners merely for the pleasure of having Jewish prisoners, without any need to stipulate a valid accusation against them. . . .

Many times I've been asked whether a Holocaust is conceivable in Argentina. Well, that depends on what is meant by a Holocaust, though no one would have been able to answer such a question affirmatively in 1937 in Germany. . . .

If we cared to formulate a historical equation, we could say that the conditions do exist: a profound political crisis, an economic crisis with an annual 170 percent rate of inflation that has lasted for several years, impotence on the part of political parties to come up with a minimally coherent response, the incapacity of the Jewish community to face straightforwardly its own reality, a totalitarian mentality among the majority sectors of the population, with a serious tendency toward messianic beliefs. If the outbreak of anti-Semitism has not until now assumed greater and more pronounced characteristics, this is because the balance of power within the armed forces has been under permanent debate in recent years, with the moderates weighing the potential international repercussions and concluding that these would be hard to withstand. But perhaps the Holocaust is in a way already occurring, as if the seeds were already planted. It depends on one's view of anti-Semitism—or of a Holocaust. There are no gas chambers in Argentina, and this leaves many with a clear conscience. Yet between 1974 and 1978, the violation of girls in clandestine prisons had a peculiar characteristic: Jewish girls were violated twice as often as non-Jewish girls. . . .

No one can predict what will happen in the future to the 400,000 Argentine Jews. But everyone knows that something terrible has already happened. . . .

For many years, Argentine Nazi[s] . . . have claimed the existence of a Jewish scheme for seizing Patagonia, the southern zone of the country, and creating the Republic of Andinia. Books and pamphlets have appeared on this subject, and it's extremely difficult to convince a Nazi that the plan is, if not absurd, at least unfeasible. Naturally, my questioners wanted to know more details than were presently available to them on this matter.

Question: We'd like to know some further details on the Andinia Plan. How many troops would the State of Israel be prepared to send?

Answer: Do you actually believe in this plan, that it even exists? How can you imagine 400,000 Argentine Jews being able to seize nearly 1 million square kilometers in the southern part of the country? What would they do with it? How would they populate it? How could they defeat 25 million Argentines, the armed forces?

Question: Listen, Timerman, that's exactly what I'm asking you. Answer me this. You're a Zionist, yet you didn't go to Israel. Why?

Answer: Because of a long chain of circumstances, all personal and familial. . . .

Question: Come on, Timerman, you're an intelligent person. Find a better answer. Let *me* give an explanation so that we can get to the bottom of things. Israel has a very small territory and can't accommodate all the Jews in the world. Besides, the country is isolated in the midst of an Arab world. It needs money and political support from all over the world. That's why Israel has created three power centers abroad. . . .

Which branch of the Jewish conspiracy did I belong to—the Israeli, Russian, or North American? A true dilemma, since I was born in Russia, had traveled to Israel, and was extremely friendly with the U.S. Embassy.

At any cost, they found it necessary for me to declare myself a Marxist. This demanded many hours of questioning and harsh treatment, without my being able to make them understand the obvious contradiction between being a Zionist and being a Marxist, according to their understanding of Marxism. Finally they accepted my declaration of being a Zionist, but one who employed Marxism as a dialectical tool to explain the contradictions of society.

I believe that in upper army echelons they finally acknowledged that Marxism and Zionism were mutually exclusive, yet still couldn't understand what Zionism was.

Questions for Discussion

1. Describe the methods of torture imposed on Timerman. What advice does he give to those who suffer torture?
2. What is the "Andinia Plan"? Compare this with the idea of "ritual murder" and the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion."
3. Why is Zionism considered so negatively by Timerman's captors? Is their anti-Zionism anti-Semitism? What is Zionism?
4. How should the United States respond to the Argentinian government if indeed it is doing what Timerman claims?
5. Timerman is very critical of the Argentinian Jewish community for supposedly remaining silent. How should Jews in Argentina deal with this reality?
6. The United States has been accused of supporting anti-Communist governments that have severe repressive policies against their own citizens. Do you agree or disagree? Justify your position.

The Man Who Was Put in a Cage

Rollo May

The relation of freedom to the human spirit has been the subject of endless debate. This parable from Rollo May's *Man's Search for Meaning* asks how an average person would react to the sudden physical loss of his freedom. Notice the sequence of stages through which the subject of the story passes.

One evening a king of a far land was standing at his window, vaguely listening to some music drifting down the corridor from the reception room in the other wing of the palace. . . . His eye fell upon a man in the square below—apparently an average man, walking to the corner to take the tram home, . . . The king followed this man in his imagination—pictured him arriving home, . . . kissing his wife, eating his late meal, inquiring whether everything was right with the children, reading the paper, going to bed, . . . sleeping, and getting up and going off to work again the next day.

And a sudden curiosity seized the king which for a moment banished his fatigue, "I wonder what would happen if a man were kept in a cage, like the animals at the zoo?"

So the next day the king called in a psychologist, told him of his idea, and invited him to observe the experiment. Then the king caused a cage to be brought from the zoo, and the average man was brought and placed therein.

At first the man was simply bewildered, and he kept saying to the psychologist who stood outside the cage, "I have to catch the tram, I have to get to work, look what time it is, I'll be late for work!" But later on in the afternoon the man began soberly to realize what was up, and then he protested vehemently, "The king can't do this to me! It is unjust, and against the laws." His voice was strong, and his eyes full of anger.

During the rest of the week the man continued his vehement protests. When the king would walk by the cage, as he did every day, the man made his protests directly to the monarch. But the king would answer, "Look here, you get plenty of food, you have a good bed, and you don't have to work. We take good care of you—so why are you objecting?" Then after some days the man's protests lessened and then ceased. He was silent in his cage, refusing generally to talk, but the psychologist could see hatred glowing like a deep fire in his eyes.

But after several weeks the psychologist noticed that more and more it now seemed as if the man were pausing a moment after the king's daily reminder to him that he was being taken good care of—for a second the hatred was postponed from returning to his eyes—as though he were asking himself if what the king said were possibly true.

And after a few weeks more, the man began to discuss with the psychologist how it was a useful thing if a man were given food and shelter, and that man had to live by his fate in any case and the part of wisdom was to accept his fate. So when a group of professors and graduate students came in one day to observe the man in the cage, he was friendly toward them and explained to them that he had chosen this way of life, that there are great values in security and being taken care of, that they would of course see how sensible his course was, and so on. How strange! thought the psychologist, and how pathetic—why is it he struggled so hard to get them to approve of his way of life?

In the succeeding days when the king would walk through the courtyard, the man would fawn upon him from behind the bars in his cage and thank him for the food and shelter. But when the king was not in the yard and the man was not aware that the psychologist was present, his expression was quite different—sullen and morose. When his food was handed to him through the bars by the keeper, the man would often drop the dishes or dump over the water and then be embarrassed because of his stupidity and clumsiness. His conversation become increasingly one-tracked: and instead of the involved philosophical theories about the value of being taken care of, he had gotten down to simple sentences like "It is fate," which he would say over and over again, or just mumble to himself, "It is."

It was hard to say just when the last phase set in. But the psychologist became aware that the man's face seemed to have no particular expression: his smile was no longer fawning, but simply empty and meaningless, like the grimace a baby makes when there is gas on its stomach. The man ate his food, and exchanged a few sentences with the psychologist from time to time; his eyes were distant and vague, and though he looked at the psychologist, it seemed that he never really saw him.

And now the man, in his desultory conversations, never used the word "I" any more. He had accepted the cage. He had no anger, no hate, no rationalization. But he was now insane.

That night the psychologist sat in his parlor trying to write a concluding report. But it was very difficult for him to summon up words, for he felt within himself a great emptiness. . . . he couldn't help feeling something *had* been lost, something had been taken out of the universe in this experiment, and there was left only a void. . . .

He finally went to bed with his report unfinished. But he could not sleep; there was a gnawing within him which, in less rational and scientific ages, would have been called a conscience. Why didn't I tell the king that this is the one experiment that no man can do—or at least why didn't I shout that I would have nothing to do with the whole bloody business? Of course, the king would have dismissed me, the foundations would never have granted me any more money, and at the clinic they would have said that I was not a real scientist. But maybe one could farm in the mountains and make a living, and maybe one could paint or write something that would make future men happier and more free. . . .

Finally he dropped off to sleep. Some time later, in the small hours of the morning, he was awakened by a startling dream. A crowd of people had gathered, in the dream, in front of the cage in the courtyard, and the man in the cage—. . . . was shouting through the bars of the cage in impassioned oratory. "It is not only I whose freedom is taken away!" he was crying. "When the king puts me or any man in a cage, the freedom of each one of you is taken away also. The king must go!" The people began to chant, "The king must go!" and they seized and broke out the iron bars of the cage, and wielded them for weapons as they charged the palace.

The psychologist awoke, filled by the dream with a great feeling of hope and joy—. . . . as he lay surrounded by this aura of happiness, a voice spoke within him: "Aha, you had this dream to make yourself feel better; it's just a wish fulfillment."

"The hell it is!" said the psychologist as he climbed out of bed. "Maybe some dreams are to be acted on."

Questions for Discussion

1. How would the king answer the prisoner's objections?
2. On what basis does the man come to accept his new situation?
3. What happens in the psychologist's dream? Can his dream ever become reality? Isn't it too late?

Definition

desultory—rambling, disconnected

We Must Do Better

The awareness of suffering and genocide need not lead us to despair. Even in the midst of cruelty and indifference, mankind is capable of courage and compassion. These songs reflect a faith in humanity that is based not on ignorance or naivete but on the belief that we must do better if we are to survive.

We Are Not Helpless

Stephen Stills

We are not helpless
We are men
What lies between us
It can be set aside and ended

Every day we learn more how to hate
Shut the door
And then we tell ourselves we can relate
Only to the ones who are the same
Yet even they are different
And ever so they shall remain

All are strangers
All are friends
All are brothers

Open up my friend and learn to hear.
If you cannot let yourself be known by anyone
Then you are hiding in a hole

If you were children we would ask you all
Please do not hang your eyes
And listen when we call
We won't whisper, shout, or make a scene.
We are the answer
We can live the peace we dream

. . . This is what has made our nation strong
For LIFE IS CHANGE
And only the blind cannot see . . .
The new world is upon us now
It is the children
That have the will to be free.

Wake Up Everybody

Gene McFadden, John Whitehead, Vic Carstarphen

Wake up everybody
No more sleeping in bed
No more backward thinking—Time for thinking ahead
The world has changed so much—From what it used to be
There's so much hatred—war and poverty

Wake up all the teachers—time to teach a new way
Maybe then they'll listen to what you have to say
There the one's who's coming up—and the world is in their hands
When you teach the children
Teach them the very best you can
The world won't get no better—If we just let it be
The world won't get no better—
You got to change it yeah, just you and me

Wake up all the doctors—make the old people well
They're the ones who suffer and catch all the hell
They don't have so very long before their judgment day
So won't you make them happy before they pass away
Wake up all the builders—time to build a new land
I know we can do it if we all lend a hand
Only thing we have to do is put it in our minds
Surely things will work out—They do it every time
The world won't get no better . . .

False lying, false preaching, false teaching . . . Wake up
You preachers—start preaching what you teach
Teach the truth—Wake up preachers
Politicians—stop lying
War . . . War . . . how long?
Why don't somebody help the poor people? Help the babies?
You businessmen . . . stop cheating . . .
Wake up yeah . . .

Now it don't matter
What race, creed, or color
Everybody—we need each other
Wake up everybody—Well you see we need everybody
No more sleeping in bed
No more backward thinking—Time for thinking ahead

Wake up all you teachers—start to teach a new way
There's the one who suffer—teach them a new way

Teach the children—teach the babies
They're the ones who coming up

Questions for Discussion

1. How would you respond to the statement, "I don't want to change the world. I just want to have fun." How might a person who holds that opinion respond to these songs?
2. How do the lyrics in both songs reflect a faith in people?

Poland Forty Years Later

One of the most interesting questions to ask other people concerns what issue would move them so strongly as to make them want to protest, to openly register their feelings. This editorial by columnist Richard Cohen raises the uncomfortable issue of our inability to respond to events around us. The crackdown on the Polish labor union, Solidarity, was expected; yet it shocked the world when it occurred in December 1981. Cohen places this contemporary experience against the backdrop of world history and presents an ethical challenge to the Western world.

The second article from the *New York Times* presents a reminder that the use of the Jew as scapegoat has not ended in Poland, even when there are very few Jews left.

Where Are the Protesters for Poland

Richard Cohen

WASHINGTON—Click. The lights have gone out in Poland. There is snow on the ground and troops in the street. Men come in the night to make arrests. Dissidents are in jail and others are being watched, and if you listen real hard you can hear a wail of agony coming from that country. If you listen even harder you can hear the response from the free world. It is the sound of silence.

In Europe, there have been some scattered demonstrations—nothing much. Some people have taken to the streets in Paris and in London, but it is nothing compared to the anti-nuclear-cum-anti-American demonstrations of last fall. Two million Europeans marched then. In Amsterdam, 300,000 people took to the streets. In London, the figure was 175,000 and in Rome it was 200,000. Where are they now? For the death of freedom in Poland, there has been almost no one.

It is the same in America. A few people have protested. There have been some demonstrations. In Washington, the Polish community withheld its traditional gift of a Christmas tree to the embassy. In Chicago, Polish-Americans have marched. But for the most part, there are no crowds in the streets. There are no vigils outside the embassy—either the Polish Embassy or the Soviet Embassy. It is Christmas-time and we are all very busy people.

In the Third World, so quick to blame America for almost anything and to condemn Israel for merely existing, the silence is deafening. There is no protest. There is no condemnation. Those great moralists have been struck mute. The guardians of human sin when it comes to the West see and hear nothing. Poland? Oh yes, Poland. It is an internal matter.

The Pope's heart is broken. He makes his short-wave broadcasts, but no one pays much attention. He pleads for peace, for understanding, for the survival of freedom in Poland, but this, after all, is the job of the Pope. Soon he will issue his Christmas message and ask for world peace. He does this every year and every year the world disappoints him.

Why should we be surprised? The world has seen this before. Oh Lech Walesa, you think you're so different? Oh Lech Walesa, you're nothing but a Jew or a black or Armenian or kulak or gypsy or Cambodian or American Indian. You're on your own now and Poland is as good a place as any for this.

It is the country, after all, of Auschwitz and

Treblinka, the Warsaw ghetto and the massacre of Polish army officers by their dear friends and allies, the Soviets. The Poles of all people should know better than to think the cavalry will come to the rescue. This movie ends differently.

The world has been caught off-guard. It knows how to react to invasion. It knows how to yell when the atrocity comes from across a border, when it has pictures of tanks rumbling across the frontier. It does not know how to react when the instrument is blunter, when the deed is done from within, when things get confused with talk of internal difficulties and food lines and calls for referenda. We expected the Soviets to do this. We were told the Soviets would do what the Poles are doing to themselves.

Maybe this is why the victim is being blamed for his own troubles. Some people say Solidarity asked for too much. It had already challenged the Communist Party. The party had to share authority with a union. The union dismantled censorship and it challenged the old repressive ways and, for a while, freedom bubbled in Poland.

It was a dizzy time, but then Solidarity asked for a referendum. People said it went too far. Yes, that's it. What happened was its fault. This sort of thinking must make inaction a lot easier to swallow.

It has got to be dark in Poland. Dark and cold. One part of the country is cut off from another and the country itself is cut off from the world. The news media have been largely silenced. There is no television to show us what is happening, no gripping scenes of youths hurling Molotov cocktails, no interviews with brave and terrified people.

The "Iron Curtain" that Churchill said was anchored in the Northern Polish city of Stettin has descended again. What the world cannot see, it will not protest. Poland has gone dark. The world has gone mute.

Click.

Jews As Scapegoats

John Darnton

The Christmas issue of the official Communist Party newspaper in the northern city of Szczecin carried a lengthy article on Jews. Since 1947, it said, Jews have created trouble in Poland.

Jews controlled the Secret Service in the 1950's, the article in the paper Glos Szczecinski said. And, recently, Jews tried to take power through the dissident organization KOR, which had ties to the independent union Solidarity, it said.

The article named Adam Michnik, a KOR leader, and said he was Jewish. It also named a Solidarity activist, Karol Modzelewski, and said that although he bore a fine Polish name his mother was Jewish and he had been adopted by his father.

Anti-Semitism Is Growing

Finally, it referred to an article that appeared months ago on the contribution that Jews had made to Polish culture and literature. That was characteristic—Jews believed that all Polish culture was really Jewish, the article said.

The article appeared in a publication that was tightly censored, and, therefore, it had been officially cleared for print. It was only one sign of a campaign of anti-Semitism aimed at discrediting Solidarity and its affiliates. The campaign began before martial law was imposed on Dec. 13, and has grown since. . . .

The campaign has surfaced in a number of ways. Along Nowy Swiat, the boutique-lined, carefully reconstructed main avenue of Warsaw, anti-Semitic grafitti are daubed on the walls. There are large Stars of David. Solidarity leaders are identified—erroneously—as Jews. There are even the opening lines of well-known anti-Jewish jokes.

On Dec. 18, Trybuna Ludu, the Communist daily that is the party's national voice, carried an article smearing various Solidarity leaders. Speaking of Bronislaw Geremek, a historian who was an adviser to Lech Walesa and is now detained, it said he displayed his "revisionist views" after the Israeli aggression against the Arab countries in 1967.

"Dr. Geremek," it said, "used the socialist community to spread his 'antisocialist' activities—his principal connections were with revisionist and Zionist centers."

To liberals and the dwindling number of Jews in Poland, "Zionist" is a dreaded code word. Accused of holding "Zionist" views, an estimated 9,000 people lost positions during the 1967 to 1968 purge, which revolved around a power struggle in the party. The large majority of the 30,000 Jews then in Poland left for the West. The 1968 campaign included vitriolic press attacks against a "Zionist" fifth column. . . .

There are now an estimated 5,000 to 8,000 Jews in Poland, although the figures are largely guesswork. There are no known Jews in the party hierarchy and very few occupying positions of prominence in public institutions.

Some Solidarity leaders repeatedly warned their followers and the general public that certain "forces" in Polish society were attempting to play upon anti-Semitism, which has a long history in Poland, to attack KOR, and, through it, Solidarity. At one point, the Warsaw chapter held a news conference to call attention to the issue.

But Solidarity was not totally immune to anti-Semitism. In October, Marian Jurczyk, the Solidarity leader in Szczecin, delivered a strong anti-Government speech in which he said, among other things, that many top members of the party were using false names. The implication was that they were Jewish. He later made this clear by asserting that three-quarters of the party leadership were Jews.

Solidarity's top leadership took a firm stand against anti-Semitism. At a meeting in Gdansk only a day before the declaration of martial law, Mr. Walesa sought out foreign journalists to give interviews so that he could go on record opposing it.

Anti-Semitism is once again a subject of conversation. Recently, an elderly Jewish writer sat with a group of writers and artists at a coffee shop, and observed that the remaining Jews had better leave the country, because anti-Semitism was on the march once more.

"Ah, but the authorities will create them," the writer said. "It doesn't matter if someone is really Jewish or not. Jew means enemy. And a Jew will be whoever the authorities call a Jew."

Questions for Discussion

1. What was the response of the Western world to the Polish crackdown? What does Cohen think should have been our response? Are Cohen's views accurate?
2. Who is Lech Walesa? How is he described by Cohen?
3. What does Cohen say about protest among Third World nations? Is he right?
4. Cohen refers to "the victim . . . being blamed for his own troubles." What does this mean? Where else in our study was that charge made?
5. How did the Western world respond to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan? How did the Soviets attempt to rationalize their invasion?
6. What do those attempting to blame Jews for the rise of Solidarity mean when they accuse Jews (and non-Jews) of being "Zionists"?
7. On November 10, 1975, the United Nations General Assembly voted by a two to one majority to describe Zionism as a form of racism. At that time, Haim Herzog, the Israeli Ambassador, argued that it was fateful that this resolution would be adopted on the same night that Kristallnacht occurred thirty-seven years ago. What did Herzog mean? What is Zionism? What is racism? Research the record on racism and other forms of severe discrimination practised by nations that voted for the resolution. Do you think the resolution was valid or do you think it served some other end? Explain.
8. There are now between 5000 and 8000 Jews in Poland. How many were there before World War II?
9. Why do you think anti-Semitism remains a potent force in all segments of Polish society?

Heir of the Holocaust: A Child's Lesson

Harry Furman

A study of the Holocaust will not matter unless it has some effect on our everyday behavior. Any student of the Holocaust must ask the basic question, "What does this event teach me about how I should lead my life?"

That question has been difficult, especially for children of survivors. Helen Epstein has speculated about the possible influence of parent survivors on their children in *Children of the Holocaust*. Yet, whether the Holocaust has influenced the real behavior of these children remains a question for debate.

In this selection, Harry Furman, the son of an Auschwitz survivor, speculates about the lessons of the Holocaust. He argues that the Holocaust must teach us to care more about our world and each other. Regardless of who we are, the Holocaust raises profound moral questions that are at the center of human experience. Disputing the old saying, "Silence is golden," Furman contends the penalty for society's silence toward each other's suffering is a spiritual death.

As the son of an Auschwitz survivor, I grew up in the shadow of the Holocaust, and my life was and is intertwined with its mystery. A part of me was left behind in the black smoke over Auschwitz and I carry much of the living spirit of that fire: I know that my grandfather's legacy to me, someone I know only from a photograph, was to carry his name and his tradition.

Vineland, New Jersey was a refuge for hundreds of survivors of the Holocaust. I can remember very well the conversations that took place, during the 1950's in the kitchen of our house—where people would come and, in Yiddish, Polish, Russian, and broken English, exchange stories and argue with each other about what happened. That was my first introduction to the mystery. I was a very small boy and I'm sure that nobody realized I was listening as I sat in the hallway—but even then, it was hard to turn your face—to not listen.

Like many who were the first children of survivors, I grew up with a cautious attitude toward people. Our parents loved, protected, and cared for us almost too much. Scarred by those who tried to snuff out every spark of Jewish life, these survivors took their children's lives seriously. We were the living proof that they had endured the test of fire with death and could still touch life. How else could our parents have thought?

While the Germans marched the Jews into ghettos in Poland, the majority of the Polish people did little to stop them. Some Poles, Ukrainians, and other Eastern Europeans even collaborated with the Germans in killing thousands of Jews. It is no accident that the major death camps—*Auschwitz, Treblinka, Maidanek, Chelmno, Sobibor, Belzec*—were not in Germany, but in Poland. I am reminded of Elie Wiesel's description of the indifferent man in *The Town Beyond The Wall*. This was the man who watched impassively as Wiesel and his family were driven from their home in Hungary and brought to the *Umschlagplatz* for the train ride to death. As Wiesel wondered, "How can anyone remain a spectator indefinitely? How can anyone continue to embrace the woman he loves, to pray to God with fervor and even faith, to dream of a better world—after having seen that?"

The death camps provide a moral problem for all mankind. In his first book, Wiesel related the contrasting advice of two prisoners at Auschwitz. The first said, "We are all brothers, and we are suffering the same fate. The same smoke floats over all our heads. Help one another. It is the only way to survive." But another man disagreed: "Listen to me, boy. Don't forget that you're in a concentration camp. Here every man has to fight for himself and not think of anyone else. Even of his father. Here there are no fathers, no brothers, no friends. Everyone lives and dies for himself alone." Which of the prisoners was right? I warn you that your answer applies to our own situation even today. More than anything else, the Holocaust has destroyed our illusion of divine justice. The Holocaust proved that civilization and progress and science do not necessarily result in greater humanity. The Holocaust teaches us, for better or worse, that the earth is *ours* and that people have the choice to create what they wish—that we can be on the side of those who serve life or those who bring death.

In many cases, such as the ex-Nazis who live in the United States, those who committed genocide were not always punished; few indeed were. For many, the Holocaust represented a deepening of the mystery of God's role in the affairs of humankind; for some, the Holocaust deadened their faith, for others it was strengthened. One thinks of the old legend of the chalice that sits next to the Celestial Throne into which all of the tears of Mankind are placed. When the cup is filled, the legend tells us, the Messiah will come. The Holocaust begs us to ask, "Has the cup no bottom?"

And so, as I have grown older and gone through many stages, I now teach about this mystery of the Holocaust. When I went to high school the subject was never talked about. Today, young people need to be presented with moral issues. The Holocaust serves as an explosive symbol of the choices that await them. The young must explore questions relating to the nature of humanity, the psychology of violence, of duty, of mass control, the painful problem of responsibility.

I am worried about those who, in the name of education, would have us emphasize "basic skills" in the schools. One might be reminded of this letter written by an interested parent:

Dear Teacher:

I am a survivor of a concentration camp. My eyes saw what no man should witness.

Gas chambers built by LEARNED engineers.

Children poisoned by EDUCATED physicians.

Infants killed by TRAINED nurses.

Women and babies shot and burned by HIGH SCHOOL and COLLEGE GRADUATES.

So I am suspicious of education.

My request is: Help your students become human. Your efforts must never produce learned monsters, skilled psychopaths, educated Eichmanns.

Reading, writing, and arithmetic are important only if they serve to make our children more humane.

As history shows us, knowledge of reading and writing and figuring does not guarantee decent behavior or even freedom from atrocity. Greater "intelligence" does not necessarily lead to greater humanity. *Intelligent* men served as Nazi judges; *intelligent* men participated in Nazi scientific experiments; *intelligent* men designed the gas chambers; *intelligent* men supported the Nazis with their *silence*. We must always ask the painful question: Does the nature of *our* society lead us closer to or farther from Holocaust?

Perhaps we live in too comfortable a society, hidden from the constant reality of atrocity. But our children do not understand the Holocaust and they do not, as yet, see it as something that can be part of their own lives. Too many young people and adults live without values of their own choice. We are either more dependent on our leaders to make our moral choices or unwilling to make those choices at all. Today, the most serious challenge in the schools and in society concerns how we can help people to be more aware of injustice and moral choice when our society emphasizes above all else the acquisition of material things and the need to obey orders.

If we want children to understand the Holocaust, we must challenge one dangerous idea that many have held about the Nazis. That is the view that Hitler and the Nazi leaders were crazy. This view tends to separate us from them and thus deny the possibility of our own participation in such murder. But the reality is that genocide was the work of rational, efficient, businesslike people who went home to their families in the evening to lead normal lives. Out of an enlightened German society of Goethe and Schiller and Beethoven emerged the Holocaust. Do not assume that we, simply as an enlightened people, are not capable of participating in and condoning murder. There is bitter historical evidence in our treatment of native Americans, of Blacks, and recently, the Vietnamese . . .

How, then, after the war, should we Americans deal with the Holocaust? This problem can best be expressed by a contrast of two film characters. *The Pawnbroker* concerns a Jew in Harlem, Sol Nazerman, whose wife and child had been murdered in the death camps. Nazerman, like many others, had been seriously affected by his painful past. He is withdrawn, aloof, and constantly relives his camp experiences. His customers are largely poor, Black or Spanish, he is unable to relate to their misery, to their absolute helplessness. He has shut himself off from that possibility. He is cold to the Spanish boy who helps him in his shop. We find out that Nazerman serves as a front for a Black gangster. Like some Germans, he found it difficult to resist the pressure; he is unable to act. At the film's conclusion, there is an attempted robbery, and gun shots fired at Nazerman hit the Spanish boy who shields him. As the boy lies dying in the Harlem street, Nazerman realizes what he has become. And in an emotional climax of self-hatred, he jams his hand on the needle meant for the pawnbroker's cash receipts. Sol Nazerman could not free himself of his pain to reach out to others.

In contrast, "Harold and Maude" concerns a 17 year old boy who cannot find any reason to live; he cannot find people who provide him with any reason for living—a problem many young people experience today Harold is constantly playing at suicide and going to funerals. He is as conscious of death as Sol Nazerman. He meets Maude, a 79-year-old woman who gives Harold the gift of life. She lives for the moment and fights for the big issues. She sings about freedom, plants trees in the forest, shows off her paintings. She is warm and sensitive, and expresses individualism, spontaneity and rebellion. She replaces respect for laws with her commitment to people and conscience. Not surprisingly, Harold falls in love with Maude and proposes marriage. As he places the engagement ring on Maude's finger, the camera shows her left forearm. On Maude's arm were the *numbers*—

the unmistakable mark of the death camps. Maude teaches us that it is possible to suffer an entire lifetime and still not give up the art of laughter. She is that rare combination of conscience and the Hasidic joy of just being alive.

The responses of both Nazerman and Maude are understandable, yet it is *she* who met the challenge: the willingness to give even after having been denied one's own right to life. If the meaning of the Holocaust is translated into the non-values of Sol Nazerman, into his silence, our tragedy of the Holocaust will have served no purpose but to symbolize the death of human spirit. The great French writer, Albert Camus, said that there were only two choices for men after the war: to be smiling pessimists or weeping optimists. Precisely because the Holocaust teaches us that there is no eternal hope, we must create our own.

Even out of the ashen experience of the Holocaust, we *can* create a testament of hope. The human spirit, the desire for life, is not so easily broken as the Nazis imagined. I think of the Partisan's Hymn which first became popular in the Vilna Ghetto and served as the supreme challenge to despair. Remember? *"Zog nit Keyn mol as du geyst dem letstn veg"*: "Never say you walk the final road." Even the death camps were filled with countless examples of open and secret acts of help and kindness. My father could not have survived without that help. The lesson is clear—we are capable of kindness even in the worst of conditions. And although too many were silent, a very conscious and dedicated minority of non-Jews resisted, as best they could, the work of the Nazis.

It will not be long, as I found out all too quickly, that we will not have the survivors as living reminders of the Holocaust to instruct us. If we are not careful, we will allow those who wish to rewrite history, who would even deny the reality of the Holocaust, to do their work. They have already begun, and if we do not speak out, they will falsify history before our eyes. You must understand something that Pastor Niemoller in Germany learned far too late—that injustice must be everyone's business; that we are at once alone *and* interdependent; that we are responsible to and for ourselves and each other.

I must think again of my own father who was like many survivors: good, simple people who were hurt by their past and yet continued to live. My father and I would talk about the wisdom of protest. Always cautious, my father feared that those who speak out take a severe risk; such was his experience. He, like other fathers, was only trying to protect us. And yet, I know that my father would not want me or any of his children to retreat into the silence of those who watched him suffer.

The young have no easy task. Each generation has its own trial, its own challenge. Our trial will come with our willingness to seek truth, to reject injustice, to refuse to be silent. One of the great Hasidic rabbis, the Rabbi Menachem Mendl of Kotzk, said, "It may not be within man's powers to find truth, but it is up to him to reject lies, hypocrisy and cheating . . . The purpose of man is to raise the sky. To raise it until it becomes unattainable. Rather look at the sky, way up high, lost in the clouds, than see it in the mud, at your feet."

I ask you again—to which of Elie Wiesel's two death camp prisoners will we listen? Will we and our children say yes or no to the silence?

Questions for Discussion

1. What point is made by the letter written to a teacher? Do you agree? Explain.
2. What comparison is made between the characters in "The Pawnbroker" and "Harold and Maude?"
3. What is the task of "Man," according to Rabbi Menachem Mendl of Kotzk?
4. A character in one of Elie Wiesel's novels states, "So you hope to defeat evil? Fine. Begin by helping your fellow man. Triumph over death? Excellent. Begin by saving your brother." How do you react to this challenge?

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